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FORMATIVE IDEALS

A SYMPOSIUM BY MODERN MASTERS
ON
BASIC HUMAN VALUES

Collected & Edited

By

P. K. VENKATA RAO, M.A.
Professor of English
St. Joseph's College, Bangalore

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PREFACE

In his admirable Lectures on "Some Tasks for Education," Sir Richard Livingstone, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, says : " To build up in every man and woman a solid core of spiritual life, which will resist the attrition of everyday existence in our mechanized world—that is the most difficult and important task of school and university." Again : " The real modern problem is to humanize man, and to show him the spiritual ideals without which neither happiness nor success are genuine or permanent, to produce beings who will know not merely how to split atoms but how to use their powers for good."

It is in this spirit that the present ' Symposium ' is offered. The Selections are from the teachers of mankind, most of them our contemporaries. They explain to us whatever constitutes the basis of culture and why precisely we pursue in our universities the study of philosophy, literature, history, science. A synthesis of the finest human values in a human personality is offered in Dr. Jones's masterly analysis of the character of Mahatma Gandhi; and the series is wound up with Pandit Nehru's stimulating inquiry into India's position in relation to these values.

I am sincerely thankful to the great modern masters of thought and literature who, by their courtesy and co-operation, have made the idea of a book like this a " realized ideal."

February 1950.

P. K. Venkata Rao

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I

BERTRAND RUSSELL

RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

THE lessons that life has taught me during the present century are not cheerful ones. I have had to admit that sheer cruelty plays a much larger part than I thought in the make-up of a large proportion of mankind. I have had to admit that, when the present is painful, men, for 5 the most part, will seek alleviation, not in rational measures which might produce gradual amelioration, but in myths inspired by hatreds and phantasies of power, leading to outbursts of violence which intensify the evils by which they are caused. I have had to admit that when suffering 10 is intense and widespread, it generates callousness : large-scale atrocities and cruelties which, fifty years ago, would have caused a universal outcry, now pass almost unnoticed, unless they can be used to incite to war. I have had to admit that gains are never secure, and that benefits 15 to which men have grown accustomed are liable to be carelessly tossed aside in moments of excitement. I have had to face the possibility that perhaps knowledge is a misfortune, and only ignorance can preserve human beings from mutual extermination. 20

These facts, and others like them, are to be assimilated, but afford no argument against the desirability of what they prove to be difficult. We know that democracy is possible, since there are countries where it exists; we know

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that tolerance is possible, for the same reason. If there are populations incapable of the compromise and mutual forbearance upon which tolerance and the success of democracy depend, that is no reason for not valuing these
 5 things, but only for not attempting to approach them by short cuts, and for studying the conditions which, hitherto, have made them possible where they were possible. There is a type of person, all too common in the world of practical affairs, who is determined to be effective at
 10 all costs, and who, if he cannot do good, is content to do harm. If he knows how to make dynamite but not how to build houses, he will blow up existing buildings, causing a greater racket and a quicker change than any architect could hope to cause. And so, when democracy
 15 proves difficult, dictators arise, and take pride in the multiplicity of the hopes that they have brought to ruin. If I had to make up moral maxims for the young, my first would be : "It is better to do a little good than much harm."

20 Respect for the individual—a very essential part of the Liberal creed—is a less definite matter than democracy or legal toleration, and more hedged about with limitations and provisos. What I mean by it is rather a state of feeling than a definite precept. It is not always possible, in practice, to treat an individual with respect, for
 25 example, if he is a homicidal maniac. But I will try first to indicate what I mean and only then consider what life has taught me as to its practicability.

Human beings impinge upon each other in many ways.
 30 Where there is food for one, and ten people to eat it, there will be conflict. Where two rivals each desire to be supreme in one community, at least one of them must

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be disappointed. Where there are many religions, each claiming to be the unique repository of absolute truth and the sole means of eternal salvation, it is difficult for them to live in peace with one another. In the present day, those who believe in State trading and those who believe 5 in private capitalism are finding it very hard to adjust their differences. It is certainly not always possible for conscientious men to avoid violent conflict, since two creeds, both impersonal and both held with perfect sincerity, may be mutually incompatible. 10

But much the greater part of the violence in human relations would be prevented if men could feel and practise the virtue which I am calling "respect for the individual." Primarily, this consists in a great reluctance to inflict humiliation. In former times hardly anyone 15 (except King Lear when he was mad) saw any harm in this. The stocks and the pillory were opportunities for the jeers of the hostile crowds; criminals were branded so that their disgrace became indelible; children were not only flogged, but unmercifully mocked. This sort of 20 thing was dying out during the nineteenth century, but has been revived in recent times. The Nazis, in their milder moods, dressed Jews in ridiculous costumes, and drove them through the streets wearing placards saying "I am a Jew." After the liberation of France, female 25 collaborators, shorn of their hair, were exhibited to the execration of their neighbours. In all totalitarian countries punishment has consisted partly of making its victims, under the influence of torture, behave in ways that destroyed their self-respect: confession, begging for mercy, 30 and betraying comrades were the commonest of these ways.

To anyone possessed of sympathy and psychological imagination, this sort of thing is infinitely painful. When a human being has been humiliated beyond a point, something of value in him has been irreparably destroyed.

5 The Stoics maintained that a man could always avoid this damage by the exercise of his own will-power, but we now know that this is false. There is no one whose will cannot be broken by torture which is sufficiently severe and sufficiently prolonged, but apparently the ancients were less

10 ingenious in these ways than the governmental fiends of our day. The knowledge of these dark facts saps most men's resistance at an early point, since they are aware that it will give way sooner or later. Consider a German who was a Communist till 1933, then a Nazi till 1945, and

15 now (in the Russian Zone) is again a Communist. What self-respect can such a man have retained? What crimes will he refuse to perform and in what atrocities will he be unwilling to bear a part? And almost the whole of the Continent of Europe is full of such men, many of them

20 in positions of some authority.

Aristocratic pride was formerly regarded as a virtue, in part with justice, and in part not; it was a virtue, in so far as it consisted in self-respect, but a vice when it involved contempt for inferior mortals. In Spanish peasants I have

25 found the good element of pride without the bad; so I have in all classes in China. But in Western urban communities, and among those who have submitted to dictatorships, whether of the German or the Russian variety, not only is the good kind of pride usually absent,

30 but there is no willingness to admit that it is a virtue. This is due, I think, to the diminution of economic, social, and political independence. It has been revived, to some de-

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gree, among Western wage-earners by the growth of trade unionism. But it is hardly to be expected where success depends upon currying favour with official superiors or where unguarded candour may lead to execution or the concentration camp. To preserve it should be one of the 5 aims of a good social system. In economic and political relations, and above all in education, self-respect should be carefully guarded, and humiliation avoided to the utmost extent that practical necessities permit.

The problem of combining the greatest practicable 10 degree of respect for the individual with the indispensable controls required for public order, economic justice, and technical efficiency, is one of immense difficulty and complexity, requiring hazardous conjectures as to social consequences and a doubtful balancing of one set of ethical 15 values against another.

In the province of education, respect for the child demands that instruction shall, as far as possible, be a matter of co-operation between teacher and pupil, not of a discipline imposed by force without the child's inward 20 assent. It demands also that the beliefs and precepts instilled into the child's mind shall be such as are genuinely believed to be for his good, and not merely such as are convenient to the powers that be and calculated to make him die quietly whenever a predatory government can fur- 25 ther its end by having him killed. These considerations led me to believe in "progressive" education. At the same time, I am compelled to acknowledge that many "progressive" educators, in their zeal for individualism, neglect things that are of great importance. We are not 30 only individuals, but also members of one another; education should make a man not only an upstanding indi-

vidual, but a useful member of society. This requires on the one hand adequate instruction and on the other hand a social ethic. Everything possible should be done to make children enjoy learning, but learn they must, if they
 5 are to play their part in a civilized community. And in a world where organization has created great forces—churches, political parties, industrial corporations, and above all, armed States—a man who never thinks of himself as a unit in a group is impotent unless he is a great
 10 creative artist. It is necessary to find a cohesive force as powerful as patriotism, but without the limitations that make patriotism, inadequate. Education must take account of the need for collective sentiments, with the correlative concept of social duty.

15 We need, and should teach in schools, loyalty to something greater than our own nation. It is nationalism that has brought the world to its present terrifying condition, and that is making an acceptable solution of international problems so hard to find. The loyalty that
 20 is needed is loyalty to Man, and not to Man merely as a biological species, but as the sole embodiment, so far as our knowledge extends, of certain values. Man is capable of creating and appreciating beautiful things, he is capable (within limits) of knowledge, he can experience love and
 25 admiration and ecstasy. It is true that he exemplifies also the opposites of these goods; the creation of hideous squalor, wilful ignorance, hatred and envy and anguish. But in spite of all that is horrible and all the insistent incitements to despair, I retain the belief that Man is
 30 capable of developing his better potentialities and gradually lessening the intensity of his evil passions. It is this belief, not a narrow nationalism, that should be taught in

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schools and made the basis of social obligation. It is this belief—so at least it seems to me—that alone supplies an antidote to despair that is rational and not based upon some comforting myth that invites men to abrogate the primary duty of a sober search for what is true.

5

*From Earl Russell's Contribution to
WHAT LIFE HAS TAUGHT ME
1948 (Messrs. Odhams Press Ltd.,
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II

C. E. M. JOAD

THE RIGHT OF DEVELOPMENT

IT seems to me that everything that lives has a right to develop the characteristics appropriate to its kind. I do not know how I could defend this belief, if it were questioned. I can only say that I see it to be true. In this
5 sense, I suppose, it is a faith, a faith being defined as a belief for which no sufficient reason can be given but which nevertheless we know to be true. I see, too, that in other spheres we act upon its acceptance. I have already referred to the good gardener not as one who im-
10 poses upon tree or plant characteristics that do not naturally belong to it, but as one who helps it to put forth the natural and distinctive qualities of its kind. We recognize that in order that the gardener may perform this office two things are necessary. First, the tree must
15 not be cramped or distorted; secondly, it must be encouraged. Transfer the analogy to the development of personality and we may say that the human organism also demands the satisfaction of two conditions, if it is to develop all the potential resources of its being and to
20 become completely itself. First, it must not be cramped, secondly it must be nurtured.

Conditions of Human Development.

The satisfaction of the first requirement we know

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under the name of liberty, recognizing that, in order that he may achieve a society which is not savage but civilized, he must be free to think, to act, to create. Freedom is like health or air, something that we miss only in its absence. But its denial is a denial of all 5 that makes life worth living, so that the spirit of the prisoner cries out for liberty and again for liberty as the lungs of a man who is choking cry out for air: liberty, indeed, is the air of the spirit.

But liberty is not enough; there is also nurture, 10 nurture which is directed to bringing out those aspects of our nature which are distinctive of our species. What are they? As, in my opinion, one of the cardinal mistakes of our time consists in the wrong answers that by implication are given to this question, I venture to ans- 15 wer in some little detail.

The Distinctive Characteristics of Mankind.

In what, then, I ask, do men differ from and excel the beasts? In swiftness or ferocity? The deer and the lion leave us far behind. In size and strength we must 20 give way to the elephant and the whale; sheep are more gentle, nightingales more melodious, tortoises longer-lived, bees more co-operative, beavers more diligent. The ants run the totalitarian State much better than any Fascist. The truth is that our bodies are feeble and ill- 25 adapted to survival; they are the prey of innumerable diseases; their enormous complexity means that they can go wrong in a vast number of different ways, while so poorly are they equipped against the vagaries of the climate, that it is only by clothing ourselves in the skins of other 30 animals that we can survive. Hence, to pride ourselves on

any of the qualities I have mentioned, is to pride ourselves on the possession of attributes in respect of which the animals exceed us. Wherein, then, does our distinction, which is also, as we like to believe, our superiority,
 5 lie? The answer is, I suggest, that it lies in three things.

The first of these is our reason. Man, said Aristotle, is primarily a reasoning animal. He has, in other words, a mind which can reflect, discover causes, find reasons why, probe the secrets of nature, plan the future and meditate upon the purposes of life. Reasoning is broadly of two kinds. First, there is theoretical reasoning. Man is moved by curiosity and has a disinterested desire to *know* simply for knowledge's sake. The outcome of this desire is science, mathematics, philosophy, history, is, in fact, the whole
 10 body of knowledge which constitutes our inheritance from the past and which moulds the mind of the present. Secondly, there is the reasoning which we perform in order to secure practical results. Applying the conclusions of theory to the practice of living, man has transformed
 15 his world, changing his environment more completely in the last hundred and fifty years than throughout the whole of the preceding two thousand.

Secondly, there are morals. Everything in nature except man acts as it does because it is its nature so to act.
 25 It is, therefore, pointless to argue whether it is right to act as it does; pointless to exhort it to act differently. We do not say of a stone that it ought to go uphill, or blame a tiger for tearing its prey. When, however, we consider a human being, we can say not only, "this is
 30 what he is like" but also, "that is what he ought to be like." Man, in other words, and man alone, can be judged morally. What is the reason for this distinction between

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man and nature? It is to be found in the fact that man has a sense of right and wrong, so that, whatever he may in fact do, we recognize that he ought to do what is right and eschew what is wrong; we recognize also that whatever he may in fact do, he is *free* to do what is right and eschew what is wrong. Man is thus set apart from everything else in nature by virtue of the fact that he is a free moral agent. Many would attribute this unique moral nature of man to the fact that he possesses or is an immortal soul made in the image of his Creator. It is not, however, necessary to add this conclusion in order to recognize that, just as a man has a reason in virtue of which he desires and achieves knowledge, so he has a moral faculty in virtue of which he desires the good and strives after what he takes to be right. 15

Is there any other characteristic which is distinctive of the human species? It seems to me that there is, and that it is to be found in man's sense of beauty. Man recognizes and responds to beauty in the natural world and creates for himself images of beauty in paint and sound and stone. As we owe to man's reason science and philosophy, and to his moral sense ethics and justice, so to his sense of beauty we owe art. It is not only in his ability to create beauty that man's distinctiveness lies. Not less important from the point of view of the community is the ability to recognize and respond to beauty in those of us who cannot create. The sense of beauty is allied to that of right and wrong; a good life has a certain beauty, just as intercourse with beauty in art and literature affects our attitude to life, making us more sensitive to and considerate of the feelings of others, more resentful of cruelty and injustice, more critical of vulgarity and superficiality. 30

We should no doubt read for the pleasure of reading; yet it may well be asked if pleasure is all that we are entitled to expect from fine literature. If a book excites thought, if it stimulates the sense of beauty, the sense of pity or
 5 the sense of sympathy, if it helps in any way towards the understanding of our fellow creatures, if it increases our vitality, if it awakens our conscience and thus indirectly influences our personal conduct—if it accomplishes any of these things, then it has value.

10 *The Various Excellences of Man.*

Let us suppose that I am right in regarding these three—reason, morals, and the sense of beauty—as the distinctive attributes of man, and knowledge, goodness and beauty as the goods or values which man alone can
 15 recognize, and let us proceed to ask the question: “Wherein is man’s fullest development to be found?” Some men, it is obvious, are more fully and representatively human than others; are, that is to say, better or more typical specimens of what our species is when taken
 20 at its best. By what marks are we to recognize them? Clearly we shall find them in those who have developed to their fullest extent the distinctive characteristics of humanity: not, that is to say, in the strongest or the most ruthless or the most determined or the most powerful or
 25 the wealthiest or even the bravest members of our species, but in those in whom the characteristics of intelligence, virtue and good taste are most highly developed.

This, then, is in the last resort the function of that kind of education which I have called “education for living,”
 30 to develop in human beings these three attributes which are distinctive of our species, since only in their full de-

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velopment does a man reach the full stature of humanity; without it he is a man aborted. A man, I conceive, has a right to such development.

From Chapter II—"The Purposes of Education," in ABOUT EDUCATION, 1945 (Messrs. Faber & Faber, London).

III

JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL NEWMAN

KNOWLEDGE VIEWED IN RELATION TO LEARNING

1

I SUPPOSE the *prima-facie* view which the public at large would take of a University, considering it as a place of Education, is nothing more or less than a place for acquiring a great deal of knowledge on a great many
5 subjects. Memory is one of the first developed of the mental faculties; a boy's business when he goes to school is to *learn*, that is, to store up things in his memory. For some years his intellect is little more than an instrument for taking in facts or a receptacle for storing them;
10 he welcomes them as fast as they come to him; he lives on what is without; he has his eyes ever about him; he has a lively susceptibility of impressions; he imbibes information of every kind; and little does he make his own in a true sense of the word, living rather upon his
15 neighbours all around him. He has opinions, religious, political, and literary, and for a boy, is very positive in them and sure about them; but he gets them from his school-fellows, or his masters, or his parents, as the case may be. Such as he is in his other relations, such also
20 is he in his school exercises; his mind is observant, sharp, ready, retentive; he is almost passive in the acquisition of knowledge. I say this in no disparagement of

the idea of a clever boy. Geography, chronology, history language, natural history, he heaps up the matter of these studies as treasures for a future day. It is the seven years of plenty with him; he gathers in by handfuls, like the Egyptians, without counting; and though, as time goes 5 on, there is exercise for his argumentative powers in the Elements of Mathematics, and for his taste in the Poets and Orators, still, while at school, or at least, till quite the last years of his time, he acquires, and little more; and when he is leaving for the University, he is mainly 10 the creature of foreign influences and circumstances, and made up of accidents, homogeneous or not, as the case may be. Moreover, moral habits which are a boy's praise encourage and assist this result; that is, diligence, assiduity, regularity, despatch, persevering application; 15 for these are the direct conditions of acquisition, and naturally lead to it. Acquirements, again, are emphatically producible, and at a moment; they are a something to show, both for master and scholar; an audience, even though ignorant themselves of the subjects of an exami- 20 nation, can comprehend when questions are answered and when they are not. Here again is a reason why mental culture is in the minds of men identified with the acquisition of knowledge.

The same notion possesses the public mind, when it 25 passes on from the thought of a school to that of a University; and with the best of reasons so far as this, that there is no true culture without acquirements, and that philosophy presupposes knowledge. It requires a great deal of reading, or a wide range of information, to war- 30 rant us in putting forth our opinions on any serious subject; and without such learning the most original mind

may be able indeed to dazzle, to amuse, to refute, to perplex, but not to come to any useful result or any trustworthy conclusion. There are indeed persons who profess a different view of the matter, and even act upon it.

5 Every now and then you will find a person of vigorous or fertile mind, who relies upon his own resources, despises all former authors, and gives the world, with the utmost fearlessness, his views upon religion, or history, or any other popular subject. And his works may sell for a

10 while; he may get a name in his day; but this will be all. His readers are sure to find in the long run that his doctrines are mere theories, and not the expression of facts, that they are chaff instead of bread, and that his popularity drops as suddenly as it rose.

15 Knowledge then is the indispensable condition of expansion of mind, and the instrument of attaining to it; this cannot be denied, is ever to be insisted on; I begin with it as a first principle; however, the very truth of it carries men too far, and confirms to them the notion that

20 it is the whole of the matter. A narrow mind is thought to be that which contains little knowledge; and an enlarged mind, that which holds a great deal; and what seems to put the matter beyond dispute is, the fact of the great number of studies which are pursued in a University, by

25 its very profession. Lectures are given on every kind of subject; examinations are held; prizes awarded. There are moral, metaphysical, Professors; Professors of languages, of history, of mathematics, of experimental science. Lists of questions are published, wonderful for their range

30 and depth, variety and difficulty; treatises are written, which carry upon their very face the evidence of extensive reading or multifarious information; what then is wanting

for mental culture to a person of large reading and scientific attainments? What is grasp of mind but acquirement? Where shall philosophical repose be found, but in the consciousness and enjoyment of large intellectual possessions?

And yet this notion is, I conceive, a mistake, and my present business is to show that it is one, and that the end of a Liberal Education is not mere knowledge, or knowledge considered in its *matter*; and I shall best attain my object, by actually setting down some cases, which will be generally granted to be instances of the process of enlightenment or enlargement of mind, and others which are not, and thus, by the comparison, you will be able to judge for yourselves, Gentlemen, whether Knowledge, that is acquirement, is after all the real principle of the enlargement, or whether that principle is not rather something beyond it.

2

For instance, let a person, whose experience has hitherto been confined to the more calm and unpretending scenery of these islands, whether here or in England, go for the first time into parts where physical nature puts on her wilder and more awful forms, whether at home or abroad, as into mountainous districts; or let one, who has ever lived in a quiet village, go for the first time to a great metropolis,—then I suppose he will have a sensation which perhaps he never had before. He has a feeling not in addition or increase of former feelings, but of something different in its nature. He will perhaps be borne forward, and find for a time that he has lost his bearings. He has made a certain progress, and he has a consciousness of mental enlargement; he does not stand where he did, he

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has a new centre, and a range of thoughts to which he was before a stranger.

Again, the view of the heavens which the telescope opens upon us, if allowed to fill and possess the mind, may almost whirl it round and make it dizzy. It brings in a flood of ideas, and is rightly called an intellectual enlargement, whatever is meant by the term.

And so again, the sight of beasts of prey and other foreign animals, their strangeness, the originality (if I may use the term) of their forms and gestures and habits and their variety and independence of each other, throw us out of ourselves into another creation, and as if under another creator, if I may so express the temptation which may come on the mind. We seem to have new faculties, or a new exercise for our faculties, by this addition to our knowledge; like a prisoner, who, having been accustomed to wear manacles or fetters, suddenly finds his arms and legs free.

Hence Physical Science generally, in all its departments, as bringing before us the exuberant riches and resources, yet the orderly course, of the Universe, elevates and excites the student, and at first, I may say, almost takes away his breath, while in time it exercises a tranquillizing influence upon him.

Again, the study of history is said to enlarge and enlighten the mind, and why? because, as I conceive, it gives it a power of judging of passing events, and of all events, and a conscious superiority over them, which before it did not possess.

And in like manner, what is called seeing the world entering into active life, going into society, travelling, gaining acquaintance with the various classes of the com-

munity, coming into contact with the principles and modes of thought of various parties, interests, and races, their views, aims, habits and manners, their religious creeds and forms of worship—gaining experience how various yet how alike men are, how low-minded, how bad, 5 how opposed, yet how confident in their opinions; all this exerts a perceptible influence upon the mind, which it is impossible to mistake, be it good or be it bad, and is popularly called its enlargement.

And then again, the first time the mind comes across 10 the arguments and speculations of unbelievers, and feels what a novel light they cast upon what it has hitherto accounted sacred; and still more, if it gives in to them and embraces them, and throws off as so much prejudice what it has hitherto held, and, as if waking from a 15 dream, begins to realize to its imagination that there is now no such thing as law and the transgression of law, that sin is a phantom, and punishment a bugbear, that it is free to sin, free to enjoy the world and the flesh; and still further, when it does enjoy them, and reflects that 20 it may think and hold just what it will, that “the world is all before it where to choose,” and what system to build up as its own private persuasion; when this torrent of wilful thoughts rushes over and inundates it, who will deny that the fruit of the tree of knowledge, or what the 25 mind takes for knowledge, has made it one of the gods, with a sense of expansion and elevation,—an intoxication in reality, still, so far as the subjective state of the mind goes, an illumination? Hence the fanaticism of individuals or nations, who suddenly cast off their Maker. Their eyes 30 are opened; and like the judgment-stricken king in the Tragedy, they see two suns, and a magic universe, out of

which they look back upon their former state of faith and innocence with a sort of contempt and indignation, as if they were then but fools, and the dupes of imposture.

On the other hand, religion has its own enlargement,
 5 and an enlargement, not of tumult, but of peace. It is often remarked of uneducated persons, who have hitherto thought little of the unseen world, that, on their turning to God, looking into themselves, regulating their hearts, reforming their conduct, and meditating on
 10 death and judgement, heaven and hell, they seem to become, in point of intellect, different beings from what they were. Before, they took things as they came, and thought no more of one thing than another. But now every event has a meaning; they have their own estimate
 15 of whatever happens to them; they are mindful of times and seasons, and compare the present with the past; and the world, no longer dull, monotonous, unprofitable, and hopeless, is a various and complicated drama, with parts and an object, and an awful moral.

3

20 Now from these instances, to which many more might be added, it is plain, first that the communication of knowledge certainly is either a condition or the means of that sense of enlargement or enlightenment, of which at this day we hear so much in certain quarters: this cannot
 25 be denied; but next, it is equally plain, that such communication is not the whole of the process. The enlargement consists, not merely in the passive reception into the mind of a number of ideas hitherto unknown to it, but in the mind's energetic and simultaneous action upon
 30 and towards and among those new ideas, which are rush-

ing in upon it. It is the action of a formative power, reducing to order and meaning the matter of our acquirements; it is a making the objects of our knowledge subjectively our own, or to use a familiar word, it is a digestion of what we receive, into the substance of our previous state of thought; and without this no enlargement is said to follow. There is no enlargement unless there be a comparison of ideas one with another, as they come before the mind, and a systematizing of them. We feel our minds to be growing and expanding *then*, when we not only learn, but refer what we learn to what we know already. It is not the mere addition to our knowledge that is the illumination; but the locomotion, the movement onwards of that mental centre, to which both what we know, and what we are learning, the accumulating mass of our acquirements, gravitates. And therefore a truly great intellect, and recognized to be such by the common opinion of mankind, such as the intellect of Aristotle, or St. Thomas, or of Newton, or of Goethe, (I purposely take instances within and without the Catholic pale, when I would speak of the intellect as such) is one which takes a connected view of old and new, past and present, far and near; and which has insight into the influence of all these one on another; without which there is no whole, and no centre. It possesses the knowledge, not only of things, but also of their mutual and true relations; knowledge not merely considered as acquirement, but as philosophy.

Accordingly, when this analytical, distributive harmonizing process is away, the mind experiences no enlargement, and is not reckoned as enlightened or comprehensive, whatever it may add to its knowledge. For

instance, a great memory, as I have already said, does not make a philosopher, any more than a dictionary can be called a grammar. There are men who embrace in their minds a vast multitude of ideas, but with little
 5 sensibility about their real relations towards each other. These may be antiquarians, annalists, naturalists ; they may be learned in the law ; they may be versed in statistics ; they are most useful in their own place ; I should shrink from speaking disrespectfully of them ; still, there
 10 is nothing in such attainments to guarantee the absence of narrowness of mind. If they are nothing more than well-read men, or men of information, they have not what specially deserves the name of culture of mind, or fulfils the type of Liberal Education.

15 In like manner, we sometimes fall in with persons who have seen much of the world, and of the men who, in their day, have played a conspicuous part in it, but who generalize nothing, and have no observation, in the true sense of the word. They abound in information in detail,
 20 curious and entertaining, about men and things ; and, having lived under the influence of no very clear or settled principles, religious or political, they speak of every one and every thing, only as so many phenomena, which are complete in themselves, and lead to nothing, not dis-
 25 cussing them, or teaching any truth, or instructing the hearer, but simply talking. No one would say that these persons, well informed as they are, had attained to any great culture of intellect or to philosophy.

The case is the same still more strikingly where the per-
 30 sons in question are beyond dispute men of inferior powers and deficient education. Perhaps they have been much in foreign countries, and they receive, in a passive,

otiose, unfruitful way, the various facts which are forced upon them there. Seafaring men, for example, range from one end of the earth to the other; but the multiplicity of external objects, which they have encountered, forms no symmetrical and consistent picture upon their 5 imagination; they see the tapestry of human life, as it were on the wrong side, and it tells no story. They sleep, and they rise up, and they find themselves, now in Europe, now in Asia; they see visions of great cities and wild regions; they are in the marts of commerce, or amid 10 the islands of the South; they gaze on Pompey's Pillar, or on the Andes; and nothing which meets them carries them forward or backward to any idea beyond itself. Nothing has a drift or relation: nothing has a history or a promise. Everything stands by itself, and comes and 15 goes in its turn, like the shifting scenes of a show, which leave the spectator where he was. Perhaps you are near such a man on a particular occasion, and expect him to be shocked or perplexed at something which occurs: but one thing is much the same to him as another, or, if he 20 is perplexed, it is at not knowing what to say, whether it is right to admire, or to ridicule, or to disapprove, while conscious that some expression of opinion is expected from him; for in fact he has no standard of judgement at all, and no landmarks to guide him to a conclusion. 25 Such is mere acquisition, and, I repeat, no one would dream of calling it philosophy.

4

Instances, such as these, confirm, by the contrast, the conclusion I have already drawn from those which preceded them. That only is true enlargement of mind which 30

is the power of viewing many things at once as one whole, of referring them severally to their true place in the universal system, of understanding their respective values, and determining their mutual dependence. Thus is that
 5 form of Universal Knowledge, of which I have on a former occasion spoken, set up in the individual intellect, and constitutes its perfection. Possessed of this real illumination, the mind never views any part of the extended subject-matter of Knowledge without recollecting that it
 10 is but a part, or without the associations which spring from this recollection. It makes everything in some sort lead to everything else; it would communicate the image of the whole to every separate portion, till that whole becomes in imagination like a spirit, everywhere pervading
 15 and penetrating its component parts, and giving them one definite meaning. Just as our bodily organs, when mentioned, recall their function in the body, as the word 'creation' suggests the Creator, and 'subjects' a sovereign, so, in the mind of the Philosopher, as we are abstract-
 20 edly conceiving of him, the elements of the physical and moral world, sciences, arts, pursuits, ranks, offices, events, opinions, individualities, are all viewed as one, with correlative functions, and as gradually by successive combinations converging, one and all, to the true centre.

25 To have even a portion of this illuminative reason and true philosophy is the highest state to which nature can aspire, in the way of intellect; it puts the mind above the influences of chance and necessity, above anxiety, suspense, unsettlement, and superstition, which is the lot of
 30 the many. Men, whose minds are possessed with some one object, take exaggerated views of its importance, are feverish in the pursuit of it, make it the measure of things

which are utterly foreign to it, and are startled and despond if it happens to fail them. They are ever in alarm or in transport. Those on the other hand who have no object or principle whatever to hold by, lose their way, every step they take. They are thrown out, and do not 5 know what to think or say, at every fresh juncture; they have no view of persons, or occurrences, or facts, which come suddenly upon them, and they hang upon the opinion of others, for want of internal resources. But the intellect, which has been disciplined to the perfection of its 10 powers, which knows, and thinks while it knows, which has learned to leaven the dense mass of facts and events with the elastic force of reason, such an intellect cannot be partial, cannot be exclusive, cannot be impetuous, cannot be at a loss, cannot but be patient, collected, and 15 majestically calm, because it discerns the end in every beginning, the origin in every end, the law in every interruption, the limit in each dealy; because it ever knows where it stands, and how its path lies from one point to another. It is the 'square' of the Peripatetic, and has the 20 "nil admirari" of the Stoic.

There are men who, when in difficulties, originate at the moment vast ideas or dazzling projects; who, under the influence of excitement, are able to cast a light, almost as if from inspiration, on a subject or course of 25 action which comes before them; who have a sudden presence of mind equal to any emergency, rising with the occasion, and an undaunted magnanimous bearing, and an energy and keenness which is but made intense by opposition. This is genius, this is heroism; it is the 30 exhibition of a natural gift, which no culture can teach at which no institution can aim; here, on the contrary, we

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are concerned, not with mere nature, but with training and teaching. That perfection of the intellect, which is the result of education, and its *beau ideal*, to be imparted to individuals in their respective measures, is the clear
5 calm, accurate vision and comprehension of all things, as far as the finite mind can embrace them, each in its place, and with its own characteristics upon it. It is almost heart-searching from its knowledge of human nature ; it has almost supernatural charity from its freedom from
10 littleness and prejudice ; it has almost the repose of faith because nothing can startle it ; it has almost the beauty and harmony of heavenly contemplation, so intimate is it with the eternal order of things and the music of the spheres.

From THE IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY.

IV

JOHN RUSKIN

THE ROOTS OF HONOUR

1

AMONG the delusions which at different periods have possessed themselves of the minds of large masses of the human race, perhaps the most curious—certainly the least creditable—is the modern *soi-disant* science of political economy, based on the idea that an advantageous code of 5 social action may be determined irrespectively of the influence of social affection.

Of course, as in the instances of alchemy, astrology, witchcraft, and other such popular creeds, political economy has a plausible idea at the root of it. “The social 10 affections,” says the economist, “are accidental and disturbing elements in human nature; but avarice and the desire of progress are constant elements. Let us eliminate the inconstants, and, considering the human being merely as a covetous machine, examine by what laws of 15 labour, purchase, and sale, the greatest accumulative result in wealth is obtainable. Those laws once determined, it will be for each individual afterwards to introduce as much of the disturbing affectionate element as he chooses, and to determine for himself the result on 20 the new conditions supposed.”

This would be a perfectly logical and successful method of analysis, if the accidentals afterwards to be introduced

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were of the same nature as the powers first examined. Supposing a body in motion to be influenced by constant and inconstant forces, it is usually the simplest way of examining its course to trace it first under the persistent
 5 conditions, and afterwards introduce the causes of variation. But the disturbing elements in the social problem are not of the same nature as the constant ones; they alter the essence of the creature under examination the moment they are added; they operate, not mathemati-
 10 cally, but chemically, introducing conditions which render all our previous knowledge unavailable. We made learned experiments upon pure nitrogen, and have convinced ourselves that it is a very manageable gas: but, behold! the thing which we have practically to deal with is its
 15 chloride; and this, the moment we touch it on our established principles, sends us and our apparatus through the ceiling.

Observe, I neither impugn nor doubt the conclusions of the science if its terms are accepted. I am simply un-
 20 interested in them, as I should be in those of a science of gymnastics which assumed that men had no skeletons. It might be shown, on that supposition, that it would be advantageous to roll the students up into pellets, flatten them into cakes, or stretch them into cables; and that
 25 when these results were effected, the re-insertion of the skeleton would be attended with various inconveniences to their constitution. The reasoning might be admirable, the conclusions true, and the science deficient only in applicability. Modern political economy stands on a
 30 precisely similar basis. Assuming, not that the human being has no skeleton, but that it is all skeleton, it founds an ossifiant theory of progress on this negation of a soul;

and having shown the utmost that may be made of bones, and constructed a number of interesting geometrical figures with death's-head and humeri, successfully proves the inconvenience of the reappearance of a soul among these corpuscular structures. I do not deny the truth of this theory: I simply deny its applicability to the present phase of the world. 5

2

This inapplicability has been curiously manifested during the embarrassment caused by the late strikes of our workmen. Here occurs one of the simplest cases, in a pertinent and positive form, of the first vital problem which political economy has to deal with (the relation between employer and employed); and, at a severe crisis, when lives in multitudes and wealth in masses are at stake, the political economists are helpless—practically mute: no demonstrable solution of the difficulty can be given by them, such as may convince or calm the opposing parties. Obstinately the masters take one view of the matter: obstinately the operatives take another; and no political science can set them at one. 10 15 20

It would be strange if it could, it being not by 'science' of any kind that men were ever intended to be set at one. Disputant after disputant vainly strives to show that the interests of the masters are, or are not, antagonistic to those of the men: none of the pleaders ever seeming to remember that it does not absolutely or always follow that the persons must be antagonistic because their interests are. If there is only a crust of bread in the house, and mother and children are starving, their interests are not the same. If the mother eats it, the children want it; 25 30

if the children eat it, the mother must go hungry to her work. Yet it does not necessarily follow that there will be 'antagonism' between them, that they will fight for the crust, and that the mother, being strongest, will get
 5 it, and eat it. Neither, in any other case, whatever the relations of the persons may be, can it be assumed for certain that, because their interests are diverse, they must necessarily regard each other with hostility, and use violence or cunning to obtain the advantage.

10 Even if this were so, and it were as just as it is convenient to consider men as actuated by no other moral influences than those which affect rats or swine, the logical conditions of the question are still indeterminable. It can never be shown generally either that the interests of
 15 master and labourer are alike, or that they are opposed; for, according to circumstances, they may be either. It is, indeed, always the interest of both that the work should be rightly done, and a just price obtained for it: but, in the division of profits, the gain of the one may or may
 20 not be the loss of the other. It is not the master's interest to pay wages so low as to leave the men sickly and depressed, nor the workman's interest to be paid high wages if the smallness of the master's profit hinders him from enlarging his business, or conducting it in a safe and liberal
 25 way. A stoker ought not to desire high pay if the company is too poor to keep the engine-wheels in repair.

And the varieties of circumstance which influence these reciprocal interests are so endless, that, all endeavour to deduce rules of action from balances of expedi-
 30 ency is in vain. For no human actions ever were intended by the Maker of men to be guided by balances of expediency, but by balances of justice. He has therefore render-

ed all endeavours to determine expediency futile for evermore. No man ever knew, or can know, what will be the ultimate result to himself, or to others, of any given line of conduct. But every man may know, and most of us do know, what is a just and unjust act. And 5 all of us may know also, that the consequences of justice will be ultimately the best possible, both to others and ourselves, though we can neither say what *is* best, or how it is likely to come to pass.

I have said balances of justice, meaning, in the term 10 justice, to include affection—such affection as one man *owes* to another. All right relations between master and operative, and all their best interests, ultimately depend on these.

3

I have alluded to the difference* hitherto existing 15 between regiments of men associated for purposes of violence, and for purposes of manufacture; in that the former appear capable of self-sacrifice—the latter, not; which singular fact is the real reason of the general low-ness of estimate in which the profession of commerce is 20 held, as compared with that of arms. Philosophically, it does not, at first sight, appear reasonable (many writers have endeavoured to prove it unreasonable) that a peace-able and rational person, whose trade is buying and sell-25 ing, should be held in less honour than an unpeaceable and often irrational person, whose trade is slaying. Nevertheless, the consent of mankind has always, in spite of the

* “It is easy to imagine an enthusiastic affection existing among soldiers for the colonel. Not so easy to imagine an enthusiastic affection among cotton-spinners for the proprietor of the mill.”—*Unto This Last*.

philosophers, given precedence to the soldier.

And this is right.

For the soldier's trade, verily and essentially, is not slaying, but being slain. This, without well knowing its
 5 own meaning, the world honours it for. A bravo's trade is slaying; but the world has never respected bravos more than merchants: the reason it honours the soldier is, because he holds his life at the service of the State. Reckless he may be—fond of pleasure or of adventure—
 10 all kinds of bye-motives and mean impulses may have determined the choice of his profession, and may affect (to all appearance exclusively) his daily conduct in it; but our estimate of him is based on this ultimate fact—of which we are well assured—that, put him in a fortress
 15 breach, with all the pleasures of the world behind him, and only death and his duty in front of him, he will keep his face to the front: and he knows that this choice may be put to him at any moment—and has beforehand taken his part—virtually takes such part continually—
 20 does, in reality, die daily.

Not less is the respect we pay to the lawyer and physician, founded ultimately on their self-sacrifice. Whatever the learning or acuteness of a great lawyer, our chief respect for him depends on our belief that, set in
 25 a judge's seat, he will strive to judge justly, come of it what may. Could we suppose that he would take bribes, and use his acuteness and legal knowledge to give plausibility to iniquitous decisions, no degree of intellect would win for him our respect. Nothing will win it,
 30 short of our tacit conviction, that in all important acts of his life, justice is first with him; his own interest, second.

In the case of a physician, the ground of the honour we render him is clearer still. Whatever his science, we would shrink from him in horror if we found him regard his patients merely as subjects to experiment upon; much more, if we found that, receiving bribes from persons 5 interested in their deaths, he was using his best skill to give poison in the mask of medicine.

Finally, the principle holds with utmost clearness as it respects clergymen. No goodness of disposition will excuse want of science in a physician, or of shrewdness in 10 an advocate; but a clergyman, even though his power of intellect be small, is respected on the presumed ground of his unselfishness and serviceableness.

Now, there can be no question but that the tact, foresight, decision, and other mental powers, required for 15 the successful management of a large mercantile concern, if not such as could be compared with those of a great lawyer, general, or divine, would at least match the general conditions of mind required in the subordinate officers of a ship, or of a regiment, or in the curate of a country 20 parish. If, therefore, all the efficient members of the so-called liberal professions are still, somehow, in public estimate of honour, preferred before the head of a commercial firm, the reason must lie deeper than in the measurement of their several powers of mind. 25

And the essential reason for such preference will be found to lie in the fact that the merchant is presumed to act always selfishly. His work may be very necessary to the community: but the motive of it is understood to be wholly personal. The merchant's first object in all his 30 dealings must be (the public believe) to get as much for himself, and leave as little to his neighbour (or customer)

as possible. Enforcing this upon him, by political statute, as the necessary principle of his action; recommending it to him on all occasions, and themselves reciprocally adopting it, proclaiming vociferously for law of the
 5 universe, that a buyer's function is to cheapen, and a seller's to cheat,—the public, nevertheless, involuntarily condemn the man of commerce for his compliance with their own statement, and stamp him for ever as belonging to an inferior grade of human personality.

10 This they will find, eventually, they must give up doing. They must not cease to condemn selfishness; but they will have to discover a kind of commerce which is not exclusively selfish. Or, rather, they will have to discover that there never was, or can be, any other kind of
 15 commerce: that this which they have called commerce was not commerce at all, but cozening; and that a true merchant differs as much from a merchant according to laws of modern political economy, as the hero of the *Excursion* from Autolycus. They will find that com-
 20 merce is an occupation which gentlemen will every day see more need to engage in, rather than in the business of talking to men, or slaying them; that, in true commerce, as in true preaching, or true fighting, it is necessary to admit the idea of occasional voluntary loss;—that six-
 25 pences have to be lost, as well as lives, under a sense of duty; that the market may have its martyrdoms as well as the pulpit; and trade its heroisms as well as war.

May have—in the final issue, must have—and only has not had yet, because men of heroic temper have always
 30 been misguided in their youth into other fields: not recognizing what is in our days, perhaps, the most important of all fields; so that, while many a zealous person

loses his life in trying to teach the form of a gospel, very few will lose a hundred pounds in showing the practice of one.

4

The fact is, that people never have had clearly explained to them the true functions of a merchant with respect to other people. I should like the reader to be very clear about this.

Five great intellectual professions, relating to daily necessities of life, have hitherto existed—three exist necessarily, in every civilized nation. 10

The Soldier's profession is to *defend* it.

The Pastor's to *teach* it.

The Physician's to *keep it in health*.

The Lawyer's to *enforce justice* in it.

The Merchant's to *provide* for it. 15

And the duty of all these men is, on due occasion, to *die* for it.

“On due occasion,” namely :—

The Soldier, rather than leave his post in battle.

The Physician, rather than leave his post in plague. 20

The Pastor, rather than teach Falsehood.

The Lawyer, rather than countenance Injustice.

The Merchant—what is *his* “due occasion” of death?

It is the main question for the merchant, as for all of us. For, truly, the man who does not know when to die, 25 does not know how to live.

Observe, the merchant's function (or manufacturer's, for in the broad sense in which it is here used, the word must be understood to include both) is to provide for the nation. It is no more his function to get profit for him- 30

self out of that provision than it is a clergyman's function to get his stipend. This stipend is a due and necessary adjunct, but not the object of his life, if he be a true clergyman, any more than his fee (or honorarium) is the
 5 object of life to a true physician. Neither is his fee the object of life to a true merchant. All three, if true men, have a work to be done irrespective of fee—to be done even at any cost, or for quite the contrary of fee; the pastor's function being to teach, the physician's to heal,
 10 and the merchant's, as I have said, to provide. That is to say, he has to understand to their very root the qualities of the thing he deals in and the means of obtaining or producing it; and he has to apply all his sagacity and energy to the producing or obtaining it in perfect state,
 15 and distributing it at the cheapest possible price where it is most needed.

And because the production or obtaining of any commodity involves necessarily the agency of many lives and hands, the merchant becomes in the course of his business
 20 the master and governor of large masses of men in a more direct, though less confessed way, than a military officer or pastor; so that on him falls, in great part, the responsibility for the kind of life they lead: and it becomes his duty, not only to be always considering how to pro-
 25 duce what he sells, in the purest and cheapest forms, but how to make the various employments involved in the production, or transference of it, most beneficial to the men employed.

And as into these two functions, requiring for their
 30 right exercise the highest intelligence, as well as patience, kindness, and tact, the merchant is bound to put all his energy, so for their just discharge he is bound,

as soldier or physician is bound, to give up, if need be, his life, in such way as it may be demanded of him. Two main points he has in his providing function to maintain: first, his engagements (faithfulness to engagements being the real root of all possibilities in commerce); and, secondly, the perfectness and purity of the thing provided; so that, rather than fail in any engagement, or consent to any deterioration, adulteration, or unjust and exorbitant price of that which he provides, he is bound to meet fearlessly any form of distress, poverty, or labour, which may, through maintenance of these points, come upon him.

Again: in his office as governor of the men employed by him, the merchant or manufacturer is invested with a distinctly paternal authority and responsibility. In most cases, a youth entering a commercial establishment is withdrawn altogether from home influence; his master must become his father, else he has, for practical and constant help, no father at hand: in all cases the master's authority, together with the general tone and atmosphere of his business, and the character of the men with whom the youth is compelled in the course of it to associate, have more immediate and pressing weight than the home influence, and will usually neutralize it either for good or evil; so that the only means which the master has of doing justice to the men employed by him is to ask himself sternly whether he is dealing with such subordinate as he would with his own son, if compelled by circumstances to take such a position.

Supposing the captain of a frigate saw it right, or were by any chance obliged, to place his own son in the position of a common sailor: as he would then treat his

son, he is bound always to treat every one of the men under him. So, also, supposing the master of a manufactory saw it right, or were by any chance obliged, to place his own son in the position of an ordinary work-
 5 man; as he would then treat his son, he is bound always to treat every one of his men. This is the only effective, true, or practical RULE which can be given on this point of political economy.

And as the captain of a ship is bound to be the last
 10 man to leave his ship in case of wreck, and to share his last crust with the sailors in case of famine, so the manufacturer, in any commercial crisis or distress, is bound to take the suffering of it with his men, and even to take more of it for himself than he allows his men to feel; as
 15 a father would in a famine, shipwreck, or battle, sacrifice himself for his son.

All which sounds very strange: the only real strangeness in the matter being, nevertheless, that it should so sound. For all this is true, and that not partially nor
 20 theoretically, but everlastingly and practically: all other doctrine than this respecting matters political being false in premises, absurd in deduction, and impossible in practice, consistently with any progressive state of national life.

From UNTO THIS LAST.

V

WALTER PATER

THE QUEST FOR BEAUTY

1

MANY attempts have been made by writers on art and poetry to define beauty in the abstract, to express it in the most general terms, to find a universal formula for it. The value of these attempts has most often been in the suggestive and penetrating things said by the way. Such discussions help us very little to enjoy what has been well done in art or poetry, to discriminate between what is more and what is less excellent in them, or to use words like beauty, excellence, art, poetry, with a more precise meaning than they would otherwise have. Beauty, like all other qualities presented to human experience, is relative; and the definition of it becomes unmeaning and useless in proportion to its abstractness. To define beauty, not in the most abstract, but in the most concrete terms possible, to find, not a universal formula for it, but the formula which expresses most adequately this or that special manifestation of it, is the aim of the true student of æsthetics.

“To see the object as in itself it really is,” has been justly said to be the aim of all true criticism whatever; and in æsthetic criticism the first step towards seeing one’s object as it really is, is to know one’s own impression as it really is, to discriminate it, to realize it distinctly. The

objects with which æsthetic criticism deals—music, poetry, artistic and accomplished forms of human life—are indeed receptacles of so many powers or forces: they possess, like the products of nature, so many virtues or qualities.

5 What is this song or picture, this engaging personality presented in life or in a book, to me? What effect does it really produce on me? Does it give me pleasure? and if so, what sort or degree of pleasure? How is my nature modified by its presence, and under its influence? The
10 answers to these questions are the original facts with which the æsthetic critic has to do; and, as in the study of light, of morals, of number, one must realize such primary data for oneself, or not at all. And he who experiences these impressions strongly, and drives directly
15 at the analysis and discrimination of them, has no need to trouble himself with the abstract question what beauty is in itself, or what its exact relation to truth or experience—metaphysical questions, as unprofitable as metaphysical questions elsewhere. He may pass them all by,
20 as being, answerable or not, of no interest to him.

The æsthetic critic, then, regards all the objects with which he has to do, all works of art, and the fairer forms of nature and human life, as powers or forces producing pleasurable sensations, each of a more or less peculiar
25 or unique kind. This influence he feels and wishes to explain, analysing it, and reducing it to its elements. To him, the picture, the landscape, the engaging personality in life or in a book, *La Gioconda*, the hills of Carrara, Pico of Mirandola, are valuable for their virtues, as we say, in
30 speaking of a herb, a wine, a gem: for the property each has of affecting one with a special, a unique, impression of pleasure. Our education becomes complete in proportion

as our susceptibility to these impressions increases in depth and variety. And the function of the æsthetic critic is to distinguish, analyse, and separate from its adjuncts, the virtue by which a picture, a landscape, a fair personality in life or in a book, produces this special impression of beauty or pleasure, to indicate what the source of that impression is and under what conditions it is experienced. His end is reached when he has disengaged that virtue, and noted it, as a chemist notes some natural element, for himself and others; and the rule for those who would reach this end is stated with great exactness in the words of a recent critic of Sainte-Beuve:—"to endeavour to know beautiful things at first hand, as sensitive amateurs, finished humanists."

What is important, then, is not that the critic should possess a correct abstract definition of beauty for the intellect, but a certain kind of temperament, the power of being deeply moved by the presence of beautiful objects. He will remember always that beauty exists in many forms. To him all periods, types, schools of taste, are in themselves equal. In all ages there have been some excellent workmen, and some excellent work done. The question he asks is always:—In whom did the stir, the genius, the sentiment of the period find itself? where was the receptacle of its refinement, its elevation, its taste? "The ages are all equal," says William Blake, "but genius is always above its age."

Often it will require great nicety to disengage this virtue from the commoner elements with which it may be found in combination. Few artists, not Goethe or Byron even, work quite cleanly, casting off all *debris*, and leaving us only what the heat of their imagination has

wholly fused and transformed. Take, for instance, the writings of Wordsworth. The heat of his genius, entering into the substance of his work, has crystallized a part, but only a part, of it: and in that great mass of verse,
 5 there is much which might well be forgotten. But scattered up and down it, sometimes fusing and transforming entire compositions, like the stanzas on *Resolution and Independence* and the Ode on the *Recollections of Childhood*, sometimes, as if at random, depositing a fine crystal here
 10 or there, in a matter it does not wholly search through and transform, we trace the action of his unique, incommunicable faculty, that strange, mystical sense of a life in natural things, and of man's life as a part of nature, drawing strength and colour and character from local
 15 influences, from the hills and streams, and from natural sights and sounds. Well! that is the *virtue*, the active principle in Wordsworth's poetry; and then the function of the critic of Wordsworth is to follow up that active principle, to disengage it, to mark the degree in which it
 20 penetrates his verse.

2

“To be a philosopher,” says Novalis, “is to rid oneself of inertia, to come to life.” The service of philosophy, of speculative culture, towards the human spirit is to rouse, to startle it into sharp and eager observation.
 25 Every moment some form grows perfect in hand or face; some tone on the hills or the sea is choicer than the rest, some mood of passion or insight or intellectual excitement is irresistibly real and attractive for us,—for that moment only. Not the fruit of experience, but
 30 experience itself, is the end. A counted number of pulses

only is given to us of a variegated, dramatic, life. How may we see in them all that is to be seen in them by the finest senses? How shall we pass most swiftly from point to point, and be present always at the focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest 5 energy?

To burn always with this hard, gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life. In a sense it might even be said that our failure is to form habits; for, after all, habit is relative to a stereotyped world, 10 and meantime it is only the roughness of the eye that makes any two persons, things, situations, seem alike. While all melts under our feet, we may well catch at any exquisite passion, or any contribution to knowledge that seems by a lifted horizon to set the spirit 15 free for a moment, or any stirring of the senses, strange dyes, strange colours, and curious odours or work of the artist's hands, or the face of one's friend. Not to discriminate every moment some passionate attitude in those about us, and in the brilliancy of their gifts some 20 tragic dividing of forces on their ways, is, on this short day of frost and sun, to sleep before evening. With this sense of the splendour of our experience and of its awful brevity, gathering all we are into one desperate effort to see and touch, we shall hardly have time to make theo- 25 ries about the things we see and touch. What we have to do is to be for ever curiously testing new opinions and courting new impressions, never acquiescing in a facile orthodoxy of Comte, or of Hegel, or of our own. Philosophical theories or ideas, as points of view, instru- 30 ments of criticism, may help us to gather up what might otherwise pass unregarded by us. "Philosophy is the

microscope of thought." The theory or idea or system which requires of us the sacrifice of any part of this experience, in consideration of some interest into which we cannot enter, or some abstract theory we have not identified
 5 with ourselves, or what is only conventional, has no real claim upon us.

One of the most beautiful passages in the writings of Rousseau is that in the sixth book of the *Confessions*, where he describes the awakening in him of the literary
 10 sense. An undefinable taint of death had always clung about him, and now in early manhood he believed himself smitten by mortal disease. He asked himself how he might make as much as possible of the interval that remained; and he was not biassed by anything in his
 15 previous life when he decided that it must be by intellectual excitement, which he found just then in the clear fresh writings of Voltaire. Well! we are all *condamnes*, as Victor Hugo says: we are all under sentence of death but with a sort of indefinite reprieve: we have an inter-
 20 val, and then our place knows us no more. Some spend this interval in listlessness, some in high passions, the wisest, at least among "the children of this world," in art and song. For our one chance lies in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into
 25 the given time. Great passions may give us this quickened sense of life, ecstasy and sorrow of love, the various forms of enthusiastic activity, disinterested or otherwise, which come naturally to many of us. Only be sure it is passion—that it does yield you this fruit of a quickened,
 30 multiplied consciousness. Of this wisdom, the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for art's sake, has most; for art comes to you professing frankly to give

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nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for these moments' sake.

*From The Preface and Conclusion to
THE RENAISSANCE.*

VI

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

MORAL VALUES IN LITERATURE

1

ART and Literature of the highest type cannot flourish in a world where men are increasingly becoming mechanics and society a racket. The works of our famous literary men are hard and objective, forceful and penetrating. By submitting to scientific modes of thinking, they help to improve our knowledge and sharpen our sensibility. But they fail to provide us with an affirmation of the meaning of life, an enchantment of invisible mystery which is the sanction of value. They suffer from a secret sterility as the seeds of creative life are not deposited in them.

“Even our greatest masters like Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells do not touch the heights of genius. They have not given us one epic which brings out the full meaning of life, which leaves us throbbing with wild hopes and dazzled by new vistas, not a single drama of a profoundly moving nature which devastates us by its grandeur, burns into us unforgettable visions of men at grips with fate, which shakes, exhausts, cleanses us. It is because they deal with the tumult of the soul, not with its depth. They are predominantly intellectual, not spiritual.”*

There is a fundamental difference between science and

* From *An Idealist View of Life*, by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

art. The creative artist deals with the solitary side of human life, where each individual works out his unique vision. In regard to scientific inventions, we feel that they could be replaced. That America devised the atom bomb is an accident. Britain, Russia, Germany or even 5 Japan, could have done it. If Columbus had not lived, America would still have been discovered. If Vasco da Gama had not rounded the Cape and opened a sea route to India, some one else would have done it. If Kalidasa had not lived, there would have been no *Abhijnana-* 10 *sakuntala*. Without Shakespeare, there would have been no *Hamlet*. These geniuses took up themes from earlier literatures and impregnated them with their own intensity. Masterpieces of literature and miracles of art are irreplaceable in an absolute sense, for they are the pro- 15 ducts of a unique union of the universe with the personalities of their authors. The union has existed only once and yet has universal authority. There are institutes for scientific research but we cannot have institutes for training poets and prophets. For science is a co-operative 20 enterprise, the work of many minds, while art is the work of solitary genius.

2

Literature as a form of art along with philosophy and religion has the supreme function of awakening the spirit. Its essential aim is not so much to entertain or instruct 25 as to kindle the spirit in us. Great literature appeals not to reason but to spiritual perception. It is not an argument but a spell, an incantation. It is not the criticism of life but the transforming of it. By gladdening the heart, by healing the tension of the soul, literature strengthens, 30

ennobles and enlarges the life of the spirit. It makes us see with the eye of the spirit and fills us with awareness and compassion. Its function is sacramental. Indian thinkers claim that a poem is meant to lead us to the
 5 silent ecstasy of spiritual recognition or *ananda*. This delight is akin to the delight of realizing this Supreme Spirit. It is *brahmanandasahodara*. The apprehension of Brahman, the Supreme Spirit, does not wait upon the evidence of the senses or the power of reasoning. We
 10 perceive the truth in a moment of vision, when the self and the not-self, the subject apprehending and the object apprehended, are merged in a creative unity.....The reader or the listener has his mind stretched beyond the confines of his logical understanding and exceeds his little
 15 being, not by the practice of asceticism, but by the delight he experiences in the contemplation of the vision conjured up by the artist.

If literature is the treatment of experience through the medium of words, the quality of the literature depends on
 20 the kind of experience handled. The naturalists who live on the plane of observation, who strip the flesh of its clothing and expose it in the raw, stimulate the senses and excite the emotions. The rationalists explain to us through endless arguments the laws of the world and
 25 "instruct our ignorance," to use the words of Blake. The Greek Empedocles, the Roman Lucretius and many of our Indian thinkers describe metaphysical ideas in the form of verse. They deal with specialized problems, like nationalization of mines, divorce reform or Marxist society.
 30 They communicate to us views, not visions, in tones shrill and exciting, but they do not possess the faculty divine. They touch the vital or intellectual elements in

our nature as their own experience, which they interpret through the medium of words on the plane of either observation or ratiocination. They both live in a world of fragments. When we write from the vital or the intellectual level, our work will not have the power and the sovereign expression of our inmost self. We have thus different types of literature, a literature of sensations, a literature of ideas, and a literature of spirit, of power, reflecting the different contents of our experience. The literature of power is written for the body, and mind and the soul....Its aim is the integration of self, its reconciliation with the world, natural and social. 5 10

3

No literature can achieve its true aim of expanding our consciousness, of increasing our awareness, if the author has not himself risen to the plane of spirit. If he has not the creative fire, he cannot kindle the fire in others. He must not only observe and argue but also see. The gift of right vision comes to those who have effected a profound change in their inner being, into whose nature has entered a spirit, calm, equal and ineffable. Human consciousness cannot act in its purity until it is released from the domination of desires and the separative ego. The artist must surrender his will, subdue his emotions, draw in all his thoughts and concentrate on Essential Reality. Only then can he achieve maturity of mind and ripeness of wisdom. He who is not a seer cannot produce great literature. The intense concentration of the mind is essential, not only for saintliness but for artistic creation. The impulse for great literature comes from a higher consciousness. The possession of our mind by a vaster 15 20 25 30

spirit is the phenomenon of inspiration. It is intensity of living, concentration on the object, which makes ideas take wings and embody themselves in rhythms or colours. If a poet is lacking in intensity of vision, in inward grace,
 5 in chastity of spirit, he fails as a poet. Creation implies suffering for the creator. We who come after reap the joy which he won for us by his suffering. *Tapas* is not passive suffering, however tragic it may be, the suffering of poverty, of disease and of degradation, of the injustice of fate, but
 10 the active suffering born of love, the burning passion to raise the lot of sorrowing humanity. The greatest literary artists are dedicated spirits, priests of the vocation, who see themselves complete within themselves. By submitting their whole being to a purpose beyond itself, they
 15 attain integrity.

Man rises to godhead through *tapas*. Before creation sets in, there is *tapas* or austerity. The world is built by the hands of numberless masters of compassion, raised by their sufferings and cemented by their blood. It is
 20 these tapasvins that protect us from the great misery and the deeper sorrow. Valmiki, our first great poet, is a tapasvin, a seer, and he from whom he derives illumination is the prince of seers.²

4

...Literature is no escapism. It is not turning away
 25 from the life of manifestation. Its function is to carry the message of the transcendent world to the empirical, through visions, rhythms and symbols. In Donne's great

² Valmiki, the tapasvin, put a comprehensive question to Narada, who is devoted to austerity and study, who is the foremost among the knowers of speech and a prince among silent sages.

phrase, the poets 'contract the immensities' and communicate them to us. Valmiki is interested not only in the Absolute beyond space and time but also in the plenitude of its manifestation in space and time. He is concerned about truth, the supreme good and the supreme beauty, not as metaphysical abstractions but as concretely embodied in unique persons. He wishes to turn the world into flesh, make the ideal real to sense. His dream of human perfection is realized in Rama. He asks Narada to tell him of that person who has all the noble qualities, who has prowess, who knows what is right, who possesses gratitude, who is truthful in speech, firm in his vows, who is endowed with good conduct, who cherishes the well-being of all creatures, who has wisdom, skill, attractive form, who is free from jealousy, whose wrath in battle may be said to fill the very gods with terror.³ Valmiki in the *Ramayana* presents us with characters who are examples of what men ought to be, symbols of human nobility, types of human destiny whose very mistakes are to be noted and remembered.⁴

By linking the two, the transcendent and the empirical, the universal and the individual, the literary artist is able to give unity to human personality. He takes up the ordinary themes and incidents of life and, in treating them, gives us glimpses into a better and nobler world than the

³ Compare with this Aristotle's list of the 14 qualities of a perfect man: wisdom, justice, manliness, truth, a love of liberty, a sense of honour, magnanimity, resourcefulness, energy, intelligence, morality, magnificence, the capacity to arouse and keep affection and an integrated mind.

⁴ It illustrates Dryden's account of a heroic poem, "The design of it is to form the mind to heroic virtue by example: 'tis conveyed in verse that it may delight while it instructs."

one we see and pass our days in. Even when he treats of the blackest crime or of the bloodiest battle, he relates them to the striving of the human soul. He accepts the changes of the world wrought by science and technology,
 5 uses them as new sources of inspiration to reveal new forms of beauty. In so far as mechanical improvements liberate the mind of man, they are welcomed by the artist. To him every object is unique. He is not lost in the world of appearances. He penetrates the appearances
 10 and grasps the essential reality of the object.....He does not so much think about the object as enter into its life. He breaks down the barrier between himself and the object by an effort of sympathetic imagination.

To grasp the essential reality of objects, absolute con-
 15 centration, purity of vision, is essential. Distraction must cease. The ardours of the mind and the passions of the heart must be uplifted in simplicity and we must be made one with the object. When the imagination is aglow, certain scenes burn to be written. There is an inevita-
 20 bility of thought and expression. We do not so much give to our vision a clothing in words as that the vision burns and shines in words that flame with life. The verbal expression is more an incarnation than a clothing of sensitive vision. The intensity of experience, the visionary power,
 25 shines through words which would otherwise be commonplace. All great literature is the expression of inner vision, of illumined thought. It comes without volition or conscious knowledge. The more unconscious a creation, the more powerful is it. The greatest makers of literature are
 30 those whose vision has been the widest and whose feeling the most intense.

Creative literature does not aim at giving us thrills or providing us with lessons. The artist does not write to help others or influence them. He writes to relieve himself of what is pressing in him. His work has an inevitability about it, an organic necessity. Such literature is not 5 written with any moral purpose, but it will have a moral effect. It is never antiquated. Ethical treatises or didactic poems may not make us any the better. But works of art which are composed without any moral objective may inspire us with a deeper understanding and peace. *Hamlet* 10 or *Othello* is not a play with a moral but either of them may give us a clue to the meaning of life.

In the great domestic tragedies, Shakespeare enlists our sympathy for the victims by holding up the mirror to life. The anguish and distraction of Hamlet are not unexpected. 15 Claudius and Gertrude live adulterously, murder Hamlet's father, ascend the throne and deprive him of his succession. Hamlet is deeply wounded by his mother's guilt. The whole relationship of man to woman is corrupted in his mind by his mother's perfidy. He turns to Ophelia, 20 condemns her as a predestined adulteress though there is nothing to warrant it. All womanhood has become abhorrent to him because it is associated with his mother. He asks Ophelia to get to a nunnery, drives her mad and brings about her death. The resentment which the 25 thought of his mother evokes strikes him like a sword,—
 "We will have no more marriages."

Hamlet: Is this a prologue or the posy of a ring?

Ophelia: 'Tis brief, my lord.

Hamlet:

As woman's love.

30

His instinctive life is broken. His will-power is at its end. He is unable to reason logically, and thoughts whirl through his brain. He wishes to escape from the "cursed spite" of revenge and love. He looks at life and
 5 at death and wonders which is worse. "To be or not to be?" Macbeth goes through a bath of blood and ends with a commentary on life that it is an idle tale full of sound and fury without any meaning. Othello kills his wife, kills himself and makes a complete hash
 10 of it all because a jealous villain worms himself into his confidence and plays on his weakness.

Consider the condition in which these men are, tied into knots, seized by certain impulses which bind their movements, paralyse their powers of resistance and
 15 thought. They desire to struggle with the darkness that has fallen on their souls, but the very stars in their courses seem to be fighting against them. They seem to be driven to their destruction. We find these terrible and yet acknowledge them sublime. Macbeth, Hamlet
 20 and Othello impress us not by their difference from us but by their likeness to us. Through these great tragedies, Shakespeare impresses on us the unity of the human soul and its emotions behind the diversity of our ideas and customs. We are one in our emotional life, whether
 25 we have a white face like Hamlet or a black one like Othello. Great literature is the bond that connects man with man. In the pure atmosphere of creative imagination, man-made frontiers lose their meaning and the wounds of the heart are cleansed. The world is neither
 30 to be enjoyed nor endured but understood and re-created.

The primary purpose of literature is not to beguile hours of leisure or stimulate a refined enjoyment: its

calling is more serious and its object is to inspire and elevate man. Literature may not effect individual conversions or start social revolutions, but it changes the condition of our conscious being, it alters the configuration of our mind. The rhythmic power of words 5 breaks down resistance, suspends criticism and makes the mind receptive to the artist's vision of truth. There enters into our nature something tranquil and elevating, a revelation of truth which lifts the mental into the spiritual.⁵ A thing of beauty refines and purifies us even 10 without our knowing it. The insight of the seers is truth-filled. The makers of great literature are the truth bearers. When the truth is conveyed to others, *dharma* or virtue grows. Truth 'rains' virtue. Whatever tends to unify mankind is truth; whatever tends to disunite it is false- 15 hood. The true is therefore the good and the beautiful, while the false is the evil and the ugly. Truth reveals to us that humanity is one, manifold and external. However exalted thought may be, its ultimate issue is action. The attainment of truth consists in the growth of cons- 20 ciousness and is the supreme service of humanity. By serving truth, we create joy and beauty, and through such creation we build a new humanity. Truth, though an individual achievement, has social effects. Truth and virtue, *satya* and *dharma*, go together. If we are engaged 25 in the work of redemption of the world it does not follow that we should reject the solitary side of life and crucify the soul. Even Karl Marx found it necessary to renew his spirit by the study, at least once a year, of the

⁵ Cf. Keats: "We hate poetry that has a palpable design upon us. Poetry should be great and unobtrusive, a thing which enters into one's soul." *Poems of John Keats*, edited by E. de Selincourt (1925), p. xxx.

works of Aeschylus and Shakespeare.

Moral virtues have differed in different ages, but their essential spirit is humanity, compassion. God is great because of his infinite love and compassion. Literature
5 induces the spirit of humanity and compassion.

6

Even a student of philosophy, who is expected to be detached and dispassionate, cannot ignore altogether the events of the time. We have lived these years in close intimacy with the forces of evil, with the forms of man-
10 made death. We have had to contemplate acts that belong not to civilization but to savagery, when law or justice or compassion had not begun to lift its voice against physical might.....

Have we not ourselves contributed to the intellectual
15 indiscipline and moral anarchy which have led to the world's debasement and desolation? Look at the amount of patriotic, as distinguished from universal, literature we have produced in these inter-war years. Have we not taught the wrong way and accustomed the people of the
20 world to call Alexanders and Napoleons, Fredericks and Catherines, the great of the world? Have not some of the contemporary writers sung the praises of Italy's 'civilizing mission' in Abyssinia? From our past teaching, will not our descendants be justified if they look upon
25 Hitler and Mussolini as belonging to the species of great men? The empire builders from Sargon to Hitler have been ruthless men filled with egotism, callous to the fate of others, tracking their cruel way through the blood of the people to their senseless ends. So long as we treat
30 these pests of humanity as persons of distinction, are we

not misguiding the innocent people of the world, producing a moral fog, a spiritual twilight? Men who thrust people into poverty and fear, who build empires on the slavery and subjection of large masses of men, it does not matter whether they are Russian or German, British or Japanese, French 5 or Italian, they are not the benefactors of humanity.

By our wrong teaching we have helped to maintain a combative temper and subordinate the pacific teachings of a Buddha or a Jesus. We must teach people to be less stupid and more intelligent and to put first things first. We 10 must re-educate the world, in Burke's words, "to rear to the most perfect vigour and maturity every sort of generous and honest feeling that belongs to our nature; and to bring the dispositions that are lovely in private life into the service and conduct of the commonwealth, so as to be 15 patriots and not to forget we are gentlemen." We must do our utmost to transform the minds and morals of men, to make human beings rebel against the folly of this mad world, to make them realize that there is no return for the lives that are sacrificed, that there is nothing to redeem 20 the grief of those who suffered the loss of their dearest ones. Their sorrow is absolute. If we do not emphasize the universal values of spirit, if we do not resist the encroachments of provincialism, whether of caste or class, race or empire, we are disloyal to our mission. Let us, 25 through the weapons of reason and emotion, fight the vile enemies of mankind, battle for the dignity of man, for the great emancipation of humanity. Let us proclaim that human life is holy, that force is no remedy for justice, that peace, freedom and happiness are indivisible. 30

The War has shown that no people are self-sufficient even in material things, much less are they in things of

the mind and spirit. We are all illumined by the same heavenly bodies as have shone upon other lives and other peoples ; we are all threatened by the same pitfalls, troubled by the same passions and urges, ennobled by the same
 5 hopes and aspirations. Literary men and women can build up a fellowship, devout in its admiration for what has been achieved in the past, yet believing in the richness of the future which lies before us all, a fellowship which transcends the barriers of race and nationality and
 10 yet honours the intellectual, artistic and spiritual traditions of a variety of peoples.

Literary artists should not accept external standards. They must serve only one master, truth, which casts out all fear. But writers are human beings and as such belong
 15 to particular communities and in a sense are bound by their standards. Even the highest reaches of individual insight are rooted in social experience and find their ultimate meaning in relation to the community. Though a great artist may reach the height of uniqueness which
 20 seems to transcend his social history, he cannot escape altogether from the influence of his social environment. He uses the tools and forms, the styles and insights of his time and place. The higher his emotional insight, the higher is its universal validity. The great artists, though
 25 born in time, illumine the life of a timeless world. The greatest of them belong to the whole world. Vyasa and Valmiki, Homer and Virgil, Dante and Shakespeare use a universal perspective which makes all ages and all countries their debtors. Their purpose is not the expression of
 30 the life of their times but the desire and dream of that life.

If a conflict of loyalties arises between the artist as a universal man and the artist as the citizen of a State or

the member of a group, he must be prepared to suffer, as Socrates did, that the philosopher, the artist, the truth-seeker in him may not be violated. Our conception of the right may be wrong. We cannot claim to be infallible, but we must act in accordance with the light in us. To do 5 otherwise, to accept as guide an alien ideal with which one's conscience is not in harmony, would be to contradict one-self.⁶ Honesty of purpose and fidelity of statement are essential for true literature. Whatever we may or may not do, we must bear witness. If our social 10 environment requires us to be disloyal to the *daimon* in us, civil disobedience is the only remedy. We must refuse our consent to collaborate with evil. Resistance to evil is not only a right but a duty. Such an apparently negative refusal is the most positive act of self-affirma- 15 tion, which is much more difficult than facing death by assenting to evil and mixing with the crowds. In such decisive moments of our life, it is only the fire of the spirit in us that can give us the vision, the courage and the strength to defy the world in the name of a better 20 world. As literary men we claim, to use a hackneyed expression of politics, the privilege of self-determination. We acknowledge allegiance to no man, to no State. Others may compromise, but an artist should be absolutely honest. No false word should escape his lips; no 25 false thought must enter his mind.⁷ Though we may be

⁶ Cf. Marcus Aurelius: "Whatever any man does or says, you must follow the guidance of your inner nature, not for any other man's sake, but for the sake of your own nature. Just as though gold or emerald or purple were continually saying each to itself, whatever any man says or does, 'I must still remain gold or emerald or purple, keeping my own natural colour.'"

⁷ Cf. Goethe, who, when criticised for not having written war-songs during Napoleon's invasion of Germany, said: In all my

halting in our achievement, we may be perfect in our allegiance to the ideal of the integrity of self. Democracy, not as a political arrangement but as a religious faith, demands that the inner being in each of us cannot be
 5 handed over to anyone's keeping without our ceasing to be true to our dignity as human beings.

Yet there are authors who adopt a policy of social appeasement. Arnold Bennett argues that the writer has a right to conform to social standards, to public taste:
 10 "The truth is that an artist who demands appreciation from the public on his own terms, and none but his own terms, is either a god or a conceited and unpractical fool. And he is somewhat more likely to be the latter than the former. He wants too much." The important
 15 question is whether the writer is making concessions on non-essentials or essentials. If the writer surrenders his convictions he has not the quality that makes him a great writer. To tell people things they like to hear is easy; to tell them things which they should hear is diffi-
 20 cult but necessary. I may quote here the famous words of Garrison when he started the movement which led to the abolition of slavery in America: "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and *I will be heard*." What can be
 25 forgiven in a business man or even a political leader cannot be forgiven in an artist or a priest. Literary creation is not the outcome of calculated consideration but

poetry I have never shammed what I have not lived through; what has not touched me to the quick, I have never uttered in verse or prose. I made love-songs only when I was in love. How could I have written songs of hate without hatred? And between ourselves, I did not hate the French, though I thanked God when I got rid of them."

is the distillation of personal experience. If it has not vibrating sincerity, it fails as literature. The duty of intellectuals is to make society like and dislike what it ought to, and thus raise it to a higher plane. We must incarnate the conscience of the future. "The poet," Johnson said, 5
"must divest himself of the prejudice of his age and country; he must consider right and wrong in their abstracted and invariable state, he must disregard present laws and opinions, and rise to general and transcendental truths, which will always be the same. He must, there- 10
fore, content himself with the slow progress of his name, condemn the praise of his own time and commit his claims to the justice of posterity." The only cause worth fighting for is that of the future of man. If we take up our task seriously, we will contribute to the creation of a 15
new humanity. "Not round the inventor of new noises, but round the inventor of new values doth the world revolve : inaudibly it revolveth." (Nietzsche).

*From INDIAN WRITERS IN COUNCIL :
All-India Centre of the P. E. N., Bombay.*

VII

G. M. TREVELYAN

HISTORY AND THE READER

1

WHAT is value of history to the ordinary reader who is not a professional historian? Why should historians consider it a part of their business to convey their old and their new knowledge, their traditions and their discoveries, to the man in the street?

The older I get and the more I observe the tendencies and conditions of our latter day, the more certain I become that history must be the basis of humane (that is, non-scientific) education in the future. Without some knowledge of history other doors will remain closed, or at least ajar. For example, the reading of poetry and prose literature, other than current books, must rest on some knowledge of the times past when the older books were written. Some understanding of the social and political scene of Chaucer's, Shakespeare's, Milton's, Swift's world, of the world of Boswell, of Wordsworth and Shelley and Byron, of Dickens and of Trollope, of Carlyle and Ruskin, is necessary in order fully to appreciate the works in question, or even in some cases to understand what they are about. Music needs no such historical introduction to be fully appreciated, for it is not allusive, or only slightly. But literature is allusive; each book is rooted in the soil of the time when it was written.

Unless our great English literature is to become a sealed book to the English people (as indeed I fear it is to many), our countrymen must know something of times past. Literature and history are twin sisters, inseparable.

Similarly, and only in a lesser degree than in the case 5 of literature, the enjoyment and understanding of architecture and of painting and of all the domestic arts, are enhanced by knowledge of history. The man who knows no history can travel through Italy thinking it very pretty and picturesque and queer, but understanding very little 10 of what he sees. Foreign travel is enjoyable and instructive largely in proportion to the amount of historical knowledge which we take with us across the Channel. But I am glad to observe that the power of enjoying old buildings by means of historical knowledge and imagi- 15 nation is very widely spread to-day. That is something to build on, educationally and culturally.

But the interest and value of history is very much more than the key it affords to the literature, art and monuments of the past. In itself history raises and at- 20 tempts to answer two great questions—(1) what was the life of men and women in the past ages? and (2) how did the present state of things evolve out of the past? The reader can be interested in the past for its own sake, for the value or instruction he finds in former states of 25 society and former habits of thought which have passed away and left little or nothing behind. Or else the reader may be interested chiefly in the explanation which history alone can afford of the origin of the institutions, beliefs, habits and prejudices of the various peoples of 30 the world at the present day. In other words, he can be interested in the past, either for its sake, or as the parent

of the present. Similarly, he may be interested in static views of various past scenes and happenings, or he may be interested principally in the moving stream of events, the casual and evolutionary aspect of the history of mankind.

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5 I will say a little about these two aspects of history separately. First, the value to the reader of discovering what life was like in various ages and countries of old: this kind of intellectual curiosity can in our day be satisfied more fully and more correctly than in any previous
10 age, because of the wonderful work of modern scholarship. It is a relief to escape from our own mechanical age into a world when the craftsman was more and the machine less, when imagination was more and science was less. Nor is this mere hedonistic escapism. It enlarges the
15 mind and imagination, otherwise imprisoned in the present. We get glimpses of other worlds, human and faulty like ours, but different from our own, and suggesting many things, some of great value, that man has thought, experienced and forgotten. Indeed I know of no
20 greater triumph of the modern intellect than the truthful reconstruction of past states of society that have been long forgotten or misunderstood, recovered now by the patient work of archæologists, antiquarians and historians. To discover in detail what the life of man on earth was like
25 a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand years ago is just as great an achievement as to make ships sail under the sea or through the air.

How wonderful a thing it is to look back into the past as it actually was, to get a glimpse through the curtain of
30 old night into some brilliantly lighted scene of living men

and women, not mere creatures of fiction and imagination, but warm-blooded realities even as we are. In the matter of reality, there is no difference between past and present; every moment a portion of our prosaic present drops off and is swallowed up into the poetic past. 5

The motive of history is at bottom poetic. The patient scholar, wearing out his life in scientific research, and the reader more idly turning the pages of history, are both enthralled by the mystery of time, by the mutability of all things, by the succession of age and generations. 10

The best expression of the sense of poetry in the annals of the past was given by Carlyle, in his *French Revolution*, his *Past and Present*, and his *Essay on Boswell's Johnson*.

"History after all," he writes, "is the true poetry; Reality, if rightly interpreted, is grander than fiction: nay 15 even, in the right interpretation of Reality and History, does genuine Poetry lie.

Thus for *Boswell's Life of Johnson* has Time done, is Time still doing, what no ornament of Art or Artifice could have done for it. Rough Samuel and sleek wheed- 20 ling James *were* and *are not*. Their Life and whole personal Environment has melted into air. The Mitre Tavern still stands in Fleet Street; but where now is its scot-and-lot paying, beef-and-ale loving, cocked-hatted, pot-bellied Landlord; its rosy-faced assiduous Landlady, 25 with all her shining brass-pans, waxed tables, well-filled larder-shelves; her cooks and bootjacks, and errand boys and watery-mouthed hangers-on? Gone! Gone! The becking Waiter, who, with wreathed smiles, was wont to spread for Samuel and Bozzy their supper of the gods, 30 has long since pocketed his last sixpence and vanished, sixpences and all, like a ghost at cock-crowing. The Bottles

they drank out of are all broken, the Chairs they sat on all rotted and burnt; the very Knives and Forks they ate with have rusted to the heart, and become brown oxide of iron, and mingled with the indiscriminate clay. All, 5 all has vanished; in very deed and truth, like that baseless fabric of Prospero's air-vision. Of the Mitre Tavern nothing but the bare walls remain there; of London, of England, of the World, nothing but the bare walls remain; and these also decaying (were they of adamant), 10 only slower. The mysterious River of Existence rushes on; a new Billow thereof has arrived, and lashes widely as ever round the old embankments; but the former Billow with *its* loud, mad eddyings, where is it?—Where?—

Now this *Book* of Boswell's, this is precisely a revocation 15 of the edict of Destiny; so that Time shall not utterly, not so soon by several centuries, have dominion over us. A little row of Naphtha-lamps, with its line of Napth-light, burns clear and holy through the dead Night of the Past; they who are gone are still here; though hidden 20 they are revealed, though dead they yet speak. There it shines, that little miraculously lamp-lit Pathway; shedding its feebler and feebler twilight into the boundless dark Oblivion, for all that our Johnson *touched* has become illuminated for us; on which miraculous little Pathway 25 we can still travel and see wonders." (*Critical Essays*, 4).

Such is the value of biography and of all history.

So, too, the finest thing ever said about the French Revolution was also said by Carlyle.

"The Fireship is old France, the old French Form of 30 Life; her crew a Generation of men. Wild are their cries and their ragings there, like spirits tormented in that flame. But, on the whole, are they not *gone*, O Reader?

Their Fireship and they, frightening the world, have sailed away ; its flames and its thunders quite away, into the Deep of Time. One thing therefore History will do : pity them all ; for it went hard with them all." (*French Revolution*, iii, 2).

5

We, I think, can appreciate that figure, sailing away as we are, on our own burning fireship, "into the Deep of Time."

3

Besides the contemplation and study of the Past for its own sake, there remains the second great value of History, namely the light it throws on the present. You cannot understand your own country, still less any other, unless you know something of its history. You cannot even understand your own personal opinions, prejudices and emotional reactions unless you know what is your heritage as an Englishman, and how it has come down to you. Why does an Englishman react one way to a public or private situation, a German in another way, a Frenchman in a third way? History alone can tell you.

20

In this stage of the world, when many nations are brought into close and vital contact for good and evil, it is essential, as never before, that their gross ignorance of one another should be diminished, that they should begin to understand a little of one another's historical experience and resulting mentality. It is a fault of the English to expect the people of other countries to react as they do themselves to political and international situations. Our genuine goodwill and good intentions are often brought to nothing, because we expect other people

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to be like ourselves. This would be corrected if we knew their history not necessarily in detail but in broad outlines of the social and political conditions which have given to each nation its present character.

5 You cannot understand the French unless you know something of the French Revolution, its causes and effects ; or the Germans without knowing something of the historical relation of the German to his government, and of the German government to the Army, and of
10 the whole nation to military ideals, as potent and precious to them as parliamentary institutions (and freedom to do whatever we like) have, in the long course of history, become to us English. You cannot understand the Russians, unless you have some conception
15 of the long centuries during which they were hammered into the sense of community by the continual blows of Tartar and Teuton invasion sweeping over the unbroken Steppes. We are always expecting other countries to “ play the game ” as we play it, to see life as we see it,
20 and when they do not, we are surprised and helpless. The present is always taking us by surprise (as it did in 1938-39) because we do not sufficiently know and consider the past.

Mr. Ford, it is commonly reported, once declared
25 that history was “ bunk ”. This remarkable utterance of his, if indeed he made it, was itself an outcome of history : such contempt for all things past, and such engaging frankness in avowing it, were themselves the outcome of certain aspects of the social history of the United States
30 in the nineteenth century. Yet the American, generally speaking, is by no means ignorant of history or uninfluenced by the knowledge of it. The Americans know more

about our history than we know about theirs, though I hope that will soon be remedied. And the American's conception of his own country, his pride in the star-spangled banner, and in the constitution, and in America as the representative of freedom and of democracy, are 5 products of history as popularly taught and conceived over there. His attitude towards Britain, both in its favourable and in its unfavourable aspect, is largely an outcome of historical reading and teaching.

There is, indeed, another political danger that arises 10 out of imperfect historical knowledge. I mean the danger that comes, not from deliberate propaganda or falsification, but from learning bits of past history without bringing the story up to recent and present times. The Americans, for example, tend to think of England as she 15 was long ago, as a monarchical and aristocratic country. Their knowledge of our past is greater than their knowledge of our present. A few months ago, a friendly and intelligent American officer said to me that when he first came over to England for this war he expected to find a 20 land of castles with serfs tilling the soil for the benefit of a feudal aristocracy. I told him that his historical knowledge of England would have been suitable if he had come over to lend a hand in the *earlier* part of the Hundred Years' War.

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Some nations, like the Irish, are *too* historically minded, in the sense that they cannot get out of the past at all. And many of the countries of Eastern Europe, and above all the Germans themselves, have been brought up on one-sided ultra-patriotic versions of things past. The 30

harm that one-sided history has done in the modern world is immense. When history is used as a branch of propaganda it is a very deadly weapon. On the whole, that is not a fault of history as it is now taught and
5 written in England. It is rather the ignorance of history than the misuse of it, from which we suffer in this island now.

Professor Butterfield, in his inaugural lecture for the Chair of Modern History at Cambridge, said last winter:
10 "Nations do remember one thing and another in the past. And so terrible are the evils of a little history that we must have more history as quickly as we can. And since one of the most dangerous devices of propaganda at the present day—by far the neatest trick of the year—is to
15 narrate what the foreigner once did, while withholding everything in the nature of historical explanation, we must have more of the kind of history which is not mere narrative but exposition—the history which takes account of the differences between the centuries, between stages
20 of intellectual development, even between types of social structure. The study of history matters, not because it turns men into statesmen—that at least is a thing which it palpably does not do (valuable though it may be when added to the other qualifications of a political leader)—
25 but because in every genuine victory that it gains, it is contributing to the growth of human understanding."

These words of Professor Butterfield lead us on from consideration of history as a means of acquiring positive knowledge, to history as an education of the mind
30 of the reader. We become wiser—less foolish at any rate—if we study the problems of humanity in past ages, because we can read without violent *parti-pris* about the

things of long ago, and with knowledge of their outcome and consequence. It is still too early to form a final judgment on the French Revolution, and opinion about it (my opinion certainly) is constantly oscillating. On such great and complex issues there can never be a final "verdict of history." But at least it is more possible to have an opinion of some value about the French Revolution now than it was in 1789, 1794, or 1815. And the attempt to form such an opinion in all the historical light now available, is an education to the mind, the sort of education we all most terribly need. 10

Our own daily affairs, political and social, we approach with strong prejudices, with ignorance or one-sided knowledge of the issues, and with no knowledge at all of what is going to be the outcome. To remedy this, the reading of history instils into us the habit of surveying broadmindedly and calmly the pageant and process of human affairs. I do not mean that we should be "impartial" in the sense of thinking that all sides in the past were equally in the right. We may, and we often should, feel that one side was on the balance much more right than the other. And we shall not all of us come to the same conclusions on these past problems. But if we calmly study the past from as many angles as possible, we shall all of us gain in wisdom and understanding. We shall acquire a mentality which, when we return to our own problems, will be less at the mercy of newspapers and films, trying to make us take short cuts to truth, and to oversimplify the tangled skein of human affairs. 25

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I hope I have begun to make out to your satisfaction 30

my case for the twin proposition, (1) that it is part of the duty of historians to present history in a readable form, or rather, in a variety of forms readable by various sections of the public; for in Clio's house are many mansions; and (2) that the general reader ought to study history. If he knows no history he is not properly educated either as a citizen or as an intellectual and imaginative being. But of course few readers will study history because they think it a patriotic duty to do so, or even because they want to improve their minds. Readers read because they like reading, and the books they choose will be those that interest or delight them. People will read history if it fascinates them. It is therefore the duty of historians to make it as fascinating as possible, or at any rate not to conceal its fascination under the heap of learning which ought to underlie but not overwhelm written history.

And how fascinating history is—the long, variegated pageant of man's still continuing evolution on this strange planet, so much the most interesting of all the myriads of spinners through space. Man's evolution is far more extraordinary than the first chapter of Genesis used to lead people to suppose. Man's history, prehistoric, ancient, mediæval and modern, is by far the most wonderful thing in the Universe of which any news has come through to us. It contains religion; it contains science; at least it contains their history. It contains art and literature. The story of man is far more wonderful than the wonders of physical science. It is a mystery unsolved, yet it is solid fact. It is divine, diabolic—in short human. "The proper study of mankind is man," more proper to him than even the study of beetles, of gases,

and of atoms. And this wonderful pageant can be viewed both in rapidly revolving films of large expanses of time and space, and in 'close-ups' of single people and single scenes.

The new civilization will no doubt find means of meet- 5
ing its own problems, if it can succeed in avoiding world wars. And in so far as the higher civilization can manage to survive, I have no doubt that history will play a greater part than ever before in the humanistic or non-scientific aspects of culture. History is not the rival of 10
Classics or of modern literature, or of the political sciences. It is rather the house in which they all dwell. It is the cement that holds together all the studies relating to the nature and achievements of man.

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(Published by Cambridge University Press, Bentley
House, London).*

VIII

G. D. H. COLE

PROSPECTS OF WORLD ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

IF the world to-day remains for the most part desperately poor, this is not for lack of knowledge—though it is in part because the knowledge available in one place is not so diffused as to become the common possession of mankind. The failure to diffuse knowledge is, however, more symptom than cause; for, on the whole, it is much less near the truth to say that men are poor because they are ignorant than that they are ignorant because they are poor. Education and especially scientific training, while they are means to the increase of wealth as well as sources of direct satisfaction, are in the main by-products of a high standard of living. Education is an expensive process, of which only the well-to-do can afford more than the rudiments; and this is no less true of societies than of individuals.

Poverty and Ignorance

Most of the world's peoples remain ignorant because they are poor. The achievements of modern science are unknown to them: even their agricultural techniques remain primitive in the extreme. Nor is any real attempt made to remove this ignorance. The imperialist powers spend but pitifully inadequate sums on education in their

colonial territories ; and on scientific, or even technical, education next to nothing. Aeroplanes fly over the remotest parts of the earth : steamships visit the remotest islands. Things in tins penetrate almost everywhere : there is hardly a village, however primitive, where something 5 made with the aid of wonderfully complex modern machinery is not to be found, even if it be only a loincloth or a string of beads. But though the products of modern industry are carried to the ends of the earth, the art of making them is not—or when it is, the making is usually super- 10 vised by white overseers from the advanced countries, and the life of the native community goes on almost unaltered within a few miles of the site where modernity has set up its marvels. A few areas have been heavily industrialised : sometimes the most up-to-date machinery is 15 found installed amid the most primitive surroundings. But the startling contrasts of productivity between country and country remain. The average American in the United States produces at least six times as much as the average Indian, and probably a good deal more. Even the average 20 Frenchman or Belgian produces nearly four times as much.

The Alleged Inequality of Peoples

There is no evidence at all that the African or the Indian or the Chinaman is by nature destined to be less intelligent, than the Englishman or the American. 25 Immigrants, transplanted to the United States from backward countries, soon reach American standards ; and many of them rise high in the economic scale. If American negroes do not, this may be due to the treatment they receive, rather than to any inferiority of natural endowment. 30 The Russians have shown in our generation, as the Danes

showed our fathers, how quickly a people can raise its standards of production if it sets to work with a clear will and purpose.

The lands on which the poorer peoples live are not, in
5 most cases, inferior lands. Many of the poorer peoples have rich land and considerable mineral wealth beneath it. No doubt, some of the poorest are crowded upon bad land : but who crowded them ? And did not the land, in a good many of the cases, become poor because of the
10 crowding and not because it was bad by nature ? There are wealthy peoples to-day living on what was poor land till they set to work to improve it, or on land that is poor still from an agricultural standpoint, but has been put up to high site-value by use for industrial purposes. The pov-
15 erty of the physical environment provides no explanation of the poverty of the peoples. They are poor because they do not know : and they do not know because they are poor.

Through all the startling economic developments of the past hundred years, this vicious circle has remained un-
20 broken. Are we ready to break it now ? That is the question which I have been attempting to pose in the foregoing chapters ; and it demands an answer not only in the interests of the poorer countries, but in those of the richer as well.

25 *The Great Game of Beggar-my-neighbour*

Throughout the period between the wars, the advanced nations, instead of working together to promote the general welfare, played at beggar-my-neighbour. Each country, fearful of an unbalanced state of its ex-
30 changes, or merely, when there was no such risk, avid for exports and determined to protect the profits of its own

manufacturers, tried to export more than it imported, or at any rate to restrict imports as much as it could, wherever they were competitive with home products.

Such a process is bound to be self-defeating. Obviously, countries cannot all export more than they import 5 because every export is an import as well. If one country succeeds in increasing its exports and reducing its imports, it thereby reduces the purchasing power in the world market of the countries whose exports it shuts out, so that they have to buy fewer imports. One coun- 10 try may conceivably benefit by such a process, but only at other countries' expense; and it is much more likely that they will all suffer together, however unevenly the suffering may be spread. What will happen is an all-round reduction of international accounts. Usually this 15 happens to the accompaniment of competitive depreciation of currencies, as one country after another tries to increase its exports by making them cheaper to buy with other countries' money.

The Case against Autarchy

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There are some people who believe that this does not matter, because they think it better for countries not to depend much on foreign trade, and to live mainly upon their own resources. Very big and diversified countries, with a great variety of climates, soils and raw materials 25 within their frontiers and vast home populations as well, may be able to live "of their own" to a great extent without serious loss, though even such countries are usually deficient in some essential materials, as the United States are, for instance, in rubber and tin. But no small 30 country, and none that has not a very wide variety of

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natural resources, can reduce its foreign trade to a low level without serious economic loss. If it has to live mainly 'of its own,' it will have to produce at high cost in man-power and effort, and perhaps with inferior substitute materials, many things which could be produced much more easily and better elsewhere; and in trying to produce too many different things, it will in many cases forfeit the economies of mass-production. The smaller and the less diversified a country is, the greater these economic disadvantages will be. Great Britain, small in geographical size, is of medium size in respect of population, but lacks many essential materials, of which rubber, oil, cotton, and tropical foodstuffs may serve as obvious examples, together with most of the non-ferrous metals which lie at the basis of modern engineering. It is no accident that Great Britain depends greatly on foreign trade; it is inherent in the natural conditions of the country with its plenty of coal and its relative poverty in most other essential materials. No doubt, British dependence on the rest of the world has been aggravated by the long neglect of agriculture; but even if British policy in this respect were reversed, the essential dependence would remain. Great Britain needs both more food than hitherto, and a wide diversity of kinds of food, in order to live well; and even if it is decided to maintain home production of food at a higher level in future—as it should be—the effect will be, not to reduce British demand for food imports, but only to prevent it from rising further. Moreover, Great Britain can do, for the present, only a little to replace imports of raw materials with home-produced substitutes, except at a very high cost or at the expense of much lower quality; and to

adopt such a policy would be neither to the advantage of the home consumers nor conducive to British ability to purchase with exports the imports which can by no means be done without.

The Basis of International Trade

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International trade, after all, is a matter of plain common sense. Some things can be produced at least real cost in some countries and some in others; and it is plainly to everyone's advantage that things be produced where they will cost least effort, and the surplus exchanged. This 10 only seems not to be good sense when it is assumed that the non-production of a particular thing at home means that those who could have been employed in producing it will be thrown out of work, and will be unable to find alternative employment. If a country is following the 15 policy of "full employment" discussed in an earlier section of this book,¹ no such situation as this can arise. If a worker is not employed in producing one thing, he or she will be set to producing something else; and it is thus clearly advantageous to produce, for home consumption 20 or for exchange, whatever things the country is best fitted to produce.

The only qualifications which this principle requires are, first, that it may be reasonable to produce at home even at high costs, goods essential to national security, 25 where the purposes of security cannot be served as well and more cheaply by holding reserve stocks; secondly, that *social* costs, as well as costs which fall directly on the *entrepreneurs*, must be taken into account, and that it may be right for a backward country to develop industries that 30

¹ Cf. Notes, *infra* on this Extract.

are inefficient by the standards of the most advanced, and to protect such industries, where they fit in with the national pattern of life, and can supply local needs for consumers' goods; and, thirdly, that, if other countries
 5 pursue policies of economic nationalism and thus prevent a country from selling exports to them, it may become necessary for a country to reduce its imports to what it can pay for with such exports as it has left, and to run to producing at home goods which could be made better and
 10 more cheaply elsewhere. This may be unavoidable, but it cannot be done without serious economic loss. It is an unpleasant necessity, to be ended as speedily as possible, by persuading other countries to amend their mistaken policies.

15 *The Flaw in the Free Trade System*

What I have been stating so far is the core of sound sense behind the old, familiar free trade case. It has, however, been abundantly shown by the events of the last two decades that free trade is no longer a practicable
 20 way of promoting the international division of labour. Free trade meant leaving everything to the operation of the profit motive, and relying on that motive to bring about a right distribution of productive activity over the whole world. But in practice free trade did not mean
 25 that all the world's resources of man-power got employed in doing whatever in each country it was economically best for them to do. On the contrary, it was found to mean that a great many potential producers were left out of work because there seemed to be no
 30 sufficient prospect of profit from employing them; and this prevalence of unemployment then led to demands

for tariff protection in order to keep out foreign goods, in the hope of increasing employment. Unemployment was the Achilles heel of the free trade system. And yet the free traders were quite right in arguing that tariffs could not be the right remedy, because they would but- 5
tress up inefficient production, provide a shield for monopoly and price-raising, and provoke retaliation which would destroy their protective effect on employment as a whole.

The truth is that international trade needs regulation, 10
but not by tariffs. It needs regulation with the purpose, not of reducing it, but of stimulating it by putting it on a satisfactory basis of planned mutual exchange. Countries need to exchange not fewer but more of their productions, wherever total productivity can be thereby 15
increased; but they can afford to exchange more only if they can be assured that their exchanges will balance out, not country by country, but at a high level over the world market as a whole.

—From Part V, Chapter XII, of *THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S GUIDE TO THE POST-WAR WORLD*, 1947 (Messrs. Victor Gollancz Ltd., London).

IX

SIR RICHARD GREGORY

SCIENCE: MAN AND THE ATOM

I

THE extent to which natural sources of energy are used to do work is a measure of the power or position of a country under conditions of modern civilization. The burning of fuel to produce the power of steam engines
5 or of gases in the cylinders of internal combustion engines is just as natural a chemical transformation of energy from one type to another as that by which man maintains life by making use of the energy radiated by the Sun to supply his daily physical needs. All things, animate
10 and inanimate, vegetable and mineral, are conditioned by internal and external forces, some of which have been made available for human service. We know these forces by their influences and effects and can speculate upon their reactions with matter in the past or the future, but
15 the mystery of their creation passes human understanding. Man himself, however, possesses the creative urge and he has often followed the processes and copied the patterns, of nature.

Just as human powers and actions can be resolved into
20 body and spirit, so the physical constitution of the universe consists of matter and energy—of atoms and radiation—convertible one into the other. The Sun and other heavenly bodies have their sources of light and heat in

sub-atomic transformations of this kind. Every square inch of the Sun's surface is continually emitting energy equivalent to fiftyhorse-power, and is losing mass, or getting lighter, at the same time. It is estimated that matter is thus being converted into energy at the rate of about 250 5 million tons every minute, or 260,000 million tons a day. In relation, however, to the quantity of matter in the Sun, the energy within it is so immense that this expenditure can go on for many millions of years without appreciable loss of capital in the form of mass. 10

The atoms of substances on the Earth are constituted like those on the Sun, and the same principle of matter and energy holds good for them. The energy thus locked up in the building up of the structure of terrestrial atoms is almost inconceivable. By subjecting atoms contained in the chemical element uranium to particular physical conditions, the energy in one pound of this matter is found to be equivalent to that obtained from the burning of about 1,500 tons of coal, or 250,000 gallons of fuel oil. In its explosive effects the same amount is equivalent 15 to about 8,000 tons of T.N.T., and results in a temperature of many million degrees and pressures many million times greater than that of the Earth's atmosphere. 20

This inexhaustible source of power is now available for the welfare of mankind or for its degradation. History will, however, have to record that the power was first used to manufacture bombs as weapons of war of such terrifying intensity that the human heart trembles in apprehension of the future. Whether civilized man will use the powers given to him to promote the physical and 25 moral refinement of the human race or for its annihilation will, however, not be determined by the suppression 30

of scientific discovery or the destruction of mechanical inventions, but by the growth of the sense of trusteeship of natural wealth for the welfare of his own and future generations.

5 It is natural to long for more peaceful and less exacting conditions of life than those which prevail in most modern cities and towns in this age of speed, hustle and noise; but there is no historical evidence to prove that, before the machine age, labouring people in large com-
10 munities were any happier than they are to-day. The primary needs of human life are food, clothing and shelter and in the search of them man follows his natural instincts. He may be contented when these wants are supplied from natural and national resources without undue
15 effort, but his condition is that of the beast in the field or a primitive cave-dweller. Measured by standards of material welfare, civilization begins when intelligence is used to increase these resources and construct a cultural pattern.

2

20 The fact is that the ultimate effect of a scientific discovery depends upon the nature of the demands of the community for its practical service, whether for warfare or for human welfare. The familiar fatty oil called glycerin, which has now many uses, was known sixty
25 years before studies of its constitution led to the incidental discovery of the highly explosive compound, nitro-glycerin, a century ago. This remained merely an interesting chemical preparation until about fifteen years later when Nobel found that dynamite, gelignite and similar explo-
30 sives could be manufactured by mixing it with certain ab-

sorbent substances. It is unreasonable to suggest that scientific inquiries into the nature and powers of the world around us should be repressed, and impracticable to define the stage at which the trail of academic science passes into the industrial field. 5

When an explosive is ignited or decomposed by a detonator, energy is released which can be used to propel shells, scatter the materials of bombs, or as blasting charges for engineering purposes. In each case the heat evolved is due to rearrangements of the atoms in the explosive and is the result of chemical change brought about by a certain stimulus. Every atom has a central part or nucleus, the sub-atomic constituents of which are held together with such force that when they are made to break up, tremendous energy is released. This energy 10 takes the form of light and heat when an atomic bomb explodes, and both are immensely higher in intensity than can be obtained by chemical combustion of any kind. 15

When it became known to scientists that this terrific power was locked up in the heart of every atom, they 20 were well aware of the revolutionary effects its release would have upon the course of civilization. Prof. F. Soddy, who was responsible with Lord Rutherford for the original conception of atomic disintegration and the energy set free in the process, foretold that the first use 25 which would be made of the discovery would be to manufacture devastating bombs. H. G. Wells, with the far-seeing vision of a scientific prophet, gave a graphic picture of what might be expected from regenerative atomic disruption in his novel, *The World Set Free*, 30 published in 1914.

These were warnings to civilized people against the

use of the new 'fire' to start conflagrations, but they were unheeded when the 'necessities' of war led to the manufacture of atomic bombs. Scientists as citizens were recruited or conscripted to construct these deadly
5 weapons, but they are no more to be condemned than any other makers of munitions of war. While the position of a nation in the scale of civilization is measured in terms of power politics, every available force will be used to ensure supremacy whether the cause of conflict
10 is good or evil. War itself can never be anything but cruel and barbarous, and in total war there is no chivalry.

This is the order of the natural world, where the battle is to the strong and the race to the swift. With
15 the introduction of moral laws the human race acquired a new attitude and outlook, and instituted rules of life and conduct of a higher kind than those prevailing in the purely animal kingdom. In its best sense, civilization is a process of refinement of these rules associated with the
20 pursuit of truth and righteousness in diverse fields and in works expressing these attributes. The moral codes of communities differ from time to time and from region to region. While they bind the members of one group together they separate it from others: so that while murder
25 with malice is condemned and punished within a group, it becomes a lawful act when tribal, national or religious causes come into conflict, and the force of arms is used to ensure supremacy.

3

We have far to go before the moral laws which determine the rights and duties of members of a commu-

nity are extended to bind the peoples of the world together for their common welfare. Civilization has now reached such a stage of power that an international understanding is imperative to preserve modern peoples from self-destruction. The indiscriminate slaughter of 5 men, women and children and the devastation of their homes over an area of several square miles by turning a switch has made modern warfare a mockery of the highest human values and an insult to the throbbing human heart. The day is past when crimes of this kind 10 were sanctioned in the name of religion and regarded as sacred. Man himself has acquired powers approaching those attributed to divinities in early days of civilization. At the same time there has been an incipient growth of tenderness of heart and other virtues which 15 separate civilized man from other living creatures and from savagery.

All great religions have assisted in the promotion of these human characteristics, each in its way and by its own methods. As a social force every religion binds its 20 followers together for their common good and inspires a loyalty which transcends any other incentive to action. The value of a religion to civilized life is, however, not now to be measured by attachment to a particular faith but by works to make this life progressively fuller and 25 richer whether as spiritual preparation for another state of existence or not.

In modern times the particularist religious spirit has been diverted into the channel of nationalism, with sovereign States as the binding loyalty instead of sacred 30 faiths. The hope for the future is the efforts being made to bring these States together for their common welfare

and the good of the world. The ideal of federation by consent instead of by compulsion, based upon the conditions of modern civilization, by which all parts of the world have been brought together for communication
5 and exchange of goods and services, appeals to an ever-increasing number of citizens who are not content to rest in the particular but want to pass to the international in social purposes and moral laws. To such, neither restrictions of national or racial distinctions, nor differences
10 between creeds, can weigh in the balance against the moral principles explicit or implied in all the higher forms of religion.

In the scale of development of human society, war has played a useful end and, biologically speaking, a
15 necessary part. Civilization involves, however, something more than natural processes in which the struggle for existence is purely physical. It is measured by standards of value belonging exclusively to the human race and presents achievements of the mind rather than
20 specifically animal qualities. In this cultural growth war is a catastrophe, comparable to a great earthquake or other convulsion of Nature, but only incidental to the development which is continually going on in all forms of life.

25 Even if it is conceded that use of the fighting instinct of man has promoted the strength of his body and disciplined his mind, or that it encourages supreme self-sacrifice in support of high ideals, the mass destruction of whole communities in organized warfare must de-
30 grade rather than promote whatever is divine in human nature. The spiritual evolution of man, as represented by all that is best in civilization throughout the ages,

and as inspired by the most exalted religions and ethical teachers, has not proceeded in its upward course through war, but in spite of it; and it is in the belief in its further development that hope may be found for the future.

5

—*From GODS AND MEN—A TESTIMONY
OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION (1949);
Messrs. Stuart & Richards, London.*

X

ALBERT EINSTEIN

“ONLY THEN SHALL WE FIND COURAGE”

1

MANY persons have inquired concerning a recent message of mine that “a new type of thinking is essential if mankind is to survive and move to higher levels.”

Often in evolutionary processes a species must adapt
5 to new conditions in order to survive. To-day the atomic bomb has altered profoundly the nature of the world as we know it, and the human race consequently finds itself in a new habitat to which it must adapt its thinking.

In the light of new knowledge, a world authority
10 and an eventual world state are not just *desirable* in the name of brotherhood, they are *necessary* for survival. In previous ages a nation's life and culture could be protected to some extent by the growth of armies in national competition. To-day we must abandon competition and
15 secure co-operation. This must be the central fact in all our considerations of international affairs; otherwise we face certain disaster. Past thinking and methods did not prevent world wars. Future thinking *must* prevent wars.

2

Modern war, the bomb, and other discoveries present
20 us with revolutionary circumstances. Never before was it possible for one nation to make war on another with-

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out sending armies across borders. Now with rockets and atomic bombs no centre of population on the earth's surface is secure from surprise destruction in a single attack.

America has a temporary superiority in armament, but 5 it is certain that we have no lasting secret. What nature tells one group of men, she will tell in time to any group interested and patient enough in asking the questions. But our temporary superiority gives this nation the tremendous responsibility of leading mankind's effort to 10 surmount the crisis.

Being an ingenious people, Americans find it hard to believe that there is no foreseeable defence against atomic bombs. But this is a basic fact. Scientists do not even know of any field which promises us any hope of 15 adequate defence. The military-minded cling to old methods of thinking and one army department has been surveying possibilities of going underground, and in war-time placing factories in places like Mammoth Cave. Others speak of dispersing our population centres into 20 "linear" or "ribbon" cities.

Reasonable men with these new facts to consider refuse to contemplate a future in which our culture would attempt to survive in ribbons or in underground tombs. Neither is there re-assurance in proposals to keep a 25 hundred thousand men alert along the coasts scanning the sky with radar. There is no radar defence against the V-2, and should a "defence" be developed after years of research, it is not humanly possible for any defence to be perfect. Should one rocket with atomic 30 war-head strike Minneapolis, that city would look almost exactly like Nagasaki. Rifle bullets kill men, but atomic

bombs kill cities. A tank is a defence against a bullet, but there is no defence in science against the weapon which can destroy civilization.

3

Our defence is not in armaments, nor in science, nor in
5 going underground. Our defence is in law and order.

Henceforth, every nation's foreign policy must be judged at every point by one consideration: does it lead us to a world of law and order or does it lead us back toward anarchy and death? I do not believe that we can prepare
10 for war and at the same time prepare for a world community. When humanity holds in its hand the weapon with which it can commit suicide, I believe that to put more power into the gun is to increase the probability of disaster.

15 Remembering that our main consideration is to avoid this disaster, let us briefly consider international relations in the world to-day, and start with America. The war which began with Germany using weapons of un-precedented frightfulness against women and children ended
20 with the United States using a supreme weapon killing thousands at one blow.

Many persons in other countries now look on America with great suspicion, not only for the bomb but because they fear she will become imperialistic. Before the recent
25 turn in our policy I was sometimes not quite free from such fears myself.

Others might not fear Americans if they knew us as we know one another, honest and sober and neighbours. But in other countries they know that a sober nation can become drunk with victory. If Germany had not won a
30

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victory in 1870, what tragedy for the human race might have been averted!

We are still making bombs and the bombs are making hate and suspicion. We are keeping secrets and secrets breed distrust. I do not say we should now turn the 5 secret of the bomb loose in the world, but are we ardently seeking a world in which there will be no need for bombs or secrets, a world in which science and men will be free?

While we distrust Russia's secrecy and she distrusts 10 ours we walk together to certain doom.

4

The basic principles of the Acheson-Lilienthal Report are scientifically sound and technically ingenious, but as Mr. Baruch wisely said, it is a problem not of physics but of ethics. There has been too much emphasis on 15 legalisms and procedure; it is easier to denature plutonium than it is to denature the evil spirit of man.

The United Nations is the only instrument we have to work with in our struggle to achieve something better. But we have used U.N. and U.N. form and procedure 20 to outvote the Russians on some occasions when the Russians were right. Yes, I do not think it is possible for any nation to be right all the time or wrong all the time. In all negotiations, whether over Spain, Argentina, Palestine, food or atomic energy, so long as we rely on 25 procedure and keep the thread of military power, we are attempting to use old methods in a world which is changed forever.

No one gainsays that the United Nations Organiza-
tion at times gives evidence of eventually justifying the 30

desperate hope that millions have in it. But time is not given to us in solving the problems science and war have brought. Powerful forces in the political world are moving swiftly toward crisis. When we look back to the
 5 end of the war—it seems ten years ago! Many leaders express well the need for world authority and an eventual world government, but actual planning and action to this end have been appallingly slow.

5

Private organisations anticipate the future, but govern-
 10 ment agencies seem to live in the past. In working away from nationalism, for example, it is obvious that the national spirit will survive longer in armies than anywhere else. This might be tempered in the United Nations military forces by mixing the various units together,
 15 but certainly not by keeping a Russian unit intact side by side with an intact American unit, with the usual inter-unit competition added to the national spirit of the soldiers in this world enforcement army. But if the military staffs of the U.N. are working out concrete proposals
 20 along these lines, for a true internationally minded force, I have yet to read of it.

Similarly, we are plagued in the present world councils over the question of representation. It does not seem fair to some, for example, that each small Latin-Ameri-
 25 can nation should have a vote while much larger nations are also limited to one vote. On the other hand, representation on a population basis may seem unfair to the highly developed states, because surely great masses of ignorant, backward peoples should not carry as much
 30 voice in the complicated technology of our world as those

with greater experience.

Fremont Rider in an excellent book, “The Great Dilemma of World Organization,” discusses the idea of representation on the basis of education and literacy—number of teachers, physicians, and so on. Backward 5 nations looking forward to greater power in the councils of men would be told, “To get more votes you must *earn* them.”

6

These and a hundred other questions concerning the desirable evolution of the world seem to be getting very 10 little attention. Meanwhile, men high in government propose defence or war measures which would not only compel us to live in a universal atmosphere of fear but would cost untold billions of dollars and ultimately destroy our American free way of life—even before a war. 15

To retain even a temporary total security in an age of total war, government will have to secure total control. Restrictive measures will be required by the necessities of the situation, not through the conspiracy of wilful men. Starting with the fantastic guardianship now imposed on 20 innocent physics professors, outmoded thinkers will insidiously change men’s lives more completely than did Hitler, for the forces behind them will be more compelling.

7

Before the raid on Hiroshima, leading physicists urged 25 the War Department not to use the bomb against defenceless women and children. The war could have been won without it. The decision was made in consideration of

possible future loss of American lives—and now we have to consider possible loss in future atomic bombings of *millions of lives*. The American decision may have been a fatal error, for men accustom themselves to thinking a
5 weapon which was used once can be used again.

Had we shown other nations the test explosion at Alamogordo, New Mexico, we could have used it as an education for new ideas. It would have been an impressive and favourable moment to make considered proposals for world order to end war. Our renunciation of this
10 weapon as too terrible to use would have carried great weight in negotiations and made convincing our sincerity in asking other nations for a binding partnership to develop these newly unleashed powers for good.

8

15 The old type of thinking can raise a thousand objections of “realism” against this simplicity. But such thought ignores the *psychological realities*. All men fear atomic war. All men hope for benefits from these new powers. Between the realities of man’s true desires and
20 the realities of man’s dangers, what are the obsolete “realities” of protocol and military protection?

During the war many persons fell out of the habit of doing their own thinking, for many had to do simply what they were told to do. To-day lack of interest would
25 be a great error, for there is much the average man can do about this danger.

This nation held a great debate concerning the menace of the Axis, and again to-day we need a great chain reaction of awareness and communication. Current proposals should be discussed in the light of the basic facts,
30

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in every newspaper, in schools, churches, in town meetings, in private conversations, and neighbour to neighbour. Merely reading about the bomb promotes knowledge in the mind, but only talk between men promotes feeling in the heart. 5

Not even scientists completely understand atomic energy, for each man's knowledge is incomplete. Few men have ever seen the bomb. But all men if told a few facts can understand that this bomb and the danger of war is a very real thing, and not something far away. 10 It directly concerns every person in the civilised world. We cannot leave it to generals, Senators, and diplomats to work out a solution over a period of generations. Perhaps five years from now several nations will have made bombs and it will be too late to avoid disaster. 15

9

Ignoring the realities of faith, goodwill and honesty in seeking a solution, we place too much faith in legalisms, treaties, and mechanisms. We must begin through the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission to work for binding agreement, but America's decision will not be made 20 over a table in the United Nations. Our representatives in New York, in Paris, or in Moscow depend ultimately on decisions made in the village square.

To the village square we must carry the facts of atomic energy. From there must come America's voice. 25

This belief of physicists prompted our formation of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, with headquarters at Princeton, N.J., to make possible a great national campaign for education on these issues. Detailed planning for world security will be easier when negotia- 30

tors are assured of public understanding of our dilemmas.

Then our American proposals will be not merely document about machinery, the dull, dry statements of a government to other governments, but the embodiment of a message to humanity from a nation of human beings.

10

Science has brought forth this danger, but the real problem is in the minds and hearts of men. We will not change the hearts of other men by mechanisms, but by changing *our* hearts and speaking bravely.

We must be generous in giving to the world the knowledge we have of the forces of nature, after establishing safeguards against abuse.

We must be not merely willing but actively eager to submit ourselves to binding authority necessary for world security.

We must realize we cannot simultaneously plan for war and peace.

When we are clear in heart and mind—only then shall we find courage to surmount the fear which haunts the world.

PROFESSOR EINSTEIN, in an interview with Michael Amrine, —The New York Times Magazine.

XI

E. STANLEY JONES

FROM "MAHATMA GANDHI: AN INTERPRETATION"

"ANTITHESSES STRONGLY MARKED"

I

A FRENCH philosopher once said "no man is strong unless he bears within his character antitheses strongly marked." One of the secrets of Mahatma Gandhi's strength was just this holding in a living blend and balance strongly marked antitheses. He was a combination, a meeting-place of currents. And yet he was no mere patch-work of qualities gathered from here and there. The *ensemble* was unique. In the end an entirely new thing emerges—the character of Mahatma Gandhi. 5

He was a combination of East and West. The soul of Mahatma Gandhi was intensely Eastern. Born in a Native State, Porbander, where his father was the Prime Minister, he early imbibed ideas of independence. He was Indian to the core, and yet he was deeply influenced by the West. Had Mahatma Gandhi not been educated in large measure in the West he would never have had the world-wide influence he has had. He stepped out of India and exposed himself to the West, studied law in Britain. He even tried to absorb the civilization of the West—dinner, clothes, spats, meat-eating, and all. But he soon saw that this wasn't for him. It was like Saul's 15 20

armour on David. It didn't fit. A friend, who is one of God's troubadours, once said: "People give me their clothes, but they soon begin to look like me." The clothes and the person became a unit. But Gandhi never
5 really inwardly surrendered to Western Civilization—he had his inner reservation, so the clothes never really fitted him. They were discarded.

Just as David when they put Saul's armour on him, laid it aside and took the pebbles from his own brook, so
10 the Mahatma laid aside the social armour of the West and took the simple pebbles out of his own national brook. To change the figure, he would plant his receiving posts deep in the soil of his own culture, and then he could lift his antennæ to receive from the rest of the world—then
15 and then only. It was a wise decision. In Gandhi you see a truly Indian soul flowering, and yet he has absorbed much from the West and was at home in its language and literature. His use of English was remarkable for its clarity and correctness. I have never seen him make a
20 mistake in English. It was not ornate, for that would not have fitted the soul of Gandhi. His language was simple and direct as his soul was simple and direct.

It was a providence of God that he was educated in large measure outside of India, and also a providence
25 of God that he had his training in Satyagraha (Soul-force) outside of India. Had he begun in India he would have got tangled up in the very complex problems such as India presents. His apprenticeship in trying out the possibilities of soul-force was gained in a simpler situa-
30 tion. South Africa furnished the rehearsal for the real drama of India. There he clarified his ideas and perfected his technique on a small scale. He might have

floundered had he tried India straight off. But with the experience of South Africa behind, and the victories won through the method of non-violent civil resistance when he stepped on the stage of India, he had confidence of direction and assurance of power to move along that 5 path.

The twenty-six years he spent outside of India can be likened to the years Moses spent in the mountainous country of Midian, until the day when the voice came out of the burning bush telling him to go down and 10 deliver the people from the land of bondage. Mahatma Gandhi heard a voice come out of the fire of the struggle for the rights of Indians in South Africa saying that he must go and deliver the people of India from their bondage. He obeyed—tremblingly, as did Moses. 15 But the Man and the hour were matched. India was ripe and ready for a man who could voice their incoherent cry, could embody all their aspirations and could lead them out of their bondage. A man was being trained in the West who would break the stranglehold 20 of the West over the East. He was further trained in technique in South Africa, the nerve-centre of the World's clash of colour, and from that training he would come out and deliver the man of colour from the dominance of the White. South Africa produced, by 25 her very attitudes, the embodied influence which would eventually smash those attitudes, first in India and then in the rest of the world, including South Africa. The paradox is that South Africa, bent on maintaining white supremacy, produced by that very fact a man who 30 became the greatest force in modern history in breaking that supremacy.

In the person of Mahatma Gandhi East and West met, and through his methods and spirit they were in large measure reconciled.

2

Another set of contradictions was reconciled in
5 Gandhi. He was an urban man who became identified with the peasant. His whole upbringing and training was to be a man of the city. Being the son of a Prime Minister of a Native State, his sympathies would thus tend to be with the ruling classes. But by deliberate
10 intention he identified himself with the masses of the people, 75 per cent of whom are peasants. He put aside all superior clothes and wore only what the peasant wears, namely, a loin cloth or *dhoti*. The upper portion of his body was bare in life, and when carried out to
15 the funeral pyre was befittingly bare in death. And yet he always seemed completely clothed. In an elevator in America was this sign: "No one is fully clothed unless he wears a smile." Mahatma Gandhi was fully clothed, for he always wore a smile which drew attention to his
20 face rather than to his bare body. His son, Devadas Gandhi, said of his father: "Gandhi was one of the most refined persons in the world, refined in his scanty dress, in his speech and in his manners." Anyone who came into contact with Gandhi would verify that. He
25 always went third class while travelling, and third class is hard wooden benches. In later years those who loved him saw that he must be protected from the crowds in third class, so they sent him by special railway carriage or train, but it was third class still.

30 An urban man becomes the idol and voice of the

masses. The millions of India live in the rural sections of India, and it was Gandhi who aroused them, made them shed their fear and made them conscious of destiny. Before the advent of Gandhi the nationalist movement was among the intellectuals. He carried it to the masses. 5 Nobody in history was acclaimed by such multitudes of humanity who everywhere thronged to get a sight of the Mahatma. They saw in him their best selves and their own possibilities. He was the voice of the dumb millions. 10

When he went to Delhi he stayed at the Bangi or Outcaste Colony—of all places! British Cabinet Ministers and Viceroy would come to see Mahatma Gandhi at the Outcaste Colony! The multitudes thronged to this Scavenger Settlement, a place unclean in itself, to get a 15 glimpse of him and to hear him at the prayer meetings. For them he purified everything.

But while Mahatma Gandhi usually lived in the Bangi Colony at Delhi, when he was killed he was the guest of Birla, one of the richest industrialists of India. The 20 Mahatma was equally at home with a Bangi or a Birla. He fulfilled that verse where Paul says: "I have been initiated into the secret for all sorts and conditions of life, for plenty and for hunger, for prosperity and for privations." A man is weak if he can stand poverty only, or 25 prosperity only. He is strong if he can take either one that comes and use it for the purposes for which he lives. Gandhi had been initiated into this secret.

In Mahatmaji the urban and the rural came together, not in an artificial amalgam, but in a living blend. He 30 never patronized the poor—he was one of them, lived and spoke for them, was bone of their bone and pain of

their pain. He was a man among men. The rich urban man and the poor peasant were both just men.

3

Again we find in Mahatma Gandhi a coming together of the passive and the militant. The man who is only
5 passive is weak, and the man who is only militant is weak; the strong man is both. He is passively militant and militantly passive. The Mahatma was both. He was always resisting something, and yet he did it passively, hence he called it passive resistance. But only if we
10 understand the word passive in its original root form—to suffer quietly, patiently. It was resisting, not by inflicting suffering, but by taking suffering on himself. It was an active resistance from a higher level. The opponent strikes you on your cheek, and you strike him
15 on the heart by your amazing spiritual audacity in turning the other cheek. You wrest the offensive from him by refusing to take his weapons, by keeping your own, and by striking him in his conscience from a higher level. He hits you physically and you hit him spiritually.
20 The Mahatma was always resisting something—he fought on many fronts simultaneously—the political, the economic, the social, the religious. Analyse his fasts, and they were against individuals, groups, communities, nations. He even fasted against himself for self-purifica-
25 tion. Never did a man fight so long and continuously on so many issues. Nothing vital to India was alien to him. Wherever there was hurt he inflicted on himself an answering hurt—his wounds answered their wounds. And yet he was no dourfaced tilter at every windmill he pass-
30 ed. He carefully chose his issues, and once convinced

that a wrong was being done, he would inflict on himself pain until that wrong was righted. But amid it all he was cheerful. He was the Happy Warrior. He held together in a living blend the opposite qualities of passive and militant.

5

4

Again, he was an ascetic and a servant. It was with a sigh of relief that India saw in her greatest son the combination of two things that gripped her deeply. India has always respected the man who could renounce, who could sit lightly to the things of this world. Buddha 10 and his renunciation of a princely inheritance grips the soul of India. And here was Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the New India, an ascetic. It gripped the soul of ancient India. But he also gripped the soul of modern India. For modern India feels that to renounce and not 15 to relate that renunciation to the needs around one is worse than useless—it is a drain. In the Mahatma the two came together—the older idea and the new—and were found to be in a living blend. Gandhiji was the ascetic who served. That drew both groups to him, for 20 each saw their idea fulfilled in him. So the Mahatma was not merely a person; he was the meeting place of two streams—the old and the new.

Akin to this, the Mahatma combined the mystical and the practical. He was the mystic who arose at 4 a.m. 25 for his morning devotions and who heard the Inner Voice in all the great crises of his life giving him direction. And yet that mysticism was intensely practical. The symbol of this was the fact that he would carry on religious exercises and discussions while spinning with 30

his spinning wheel. That spinning wheel was the symbol of his identification with the poor of India. Their cottage industries had been ruined by the introduction of power machinery. Too many people were thrown
5 back upon the land. For six months of the year the peasant had little or nothing to occupy his time. The Mahatma fastened on the *charka*, the spinning wheel, as the thing which could fill in that blank space and provide a subsidiary occupation, gave independence,
10 and would stand for India's protest against the breaking up of India's cottage economy. From the Ashram at Sabarmati where the Mahatma sat, talked and spun with his wheel, one could see on the opposite bank of the river the smoke stacks of forty huge cotton
15 mills (now over a hundred) rise against the sky-line. Compared to that mighty power, symbolized in the smoke stacks, the Mahatma with his *charka* seemed a pathetic figure, trying to sweep back the oncoming ocean with a broom. Would industrialization overwhelm
20 him? Again, the Mahatma though wrong was profoundly right. The future lies with industrialization. When I ask any group of Indians what are the five needs of this new India, and in what order of importance, they always include industrialization in the list, some of them
25 at the top. India must take people off the land where they have small, uneconomic holdings and put them into industry. Instead of being the producer of raw materials which were sent to the West and then sent back to India as manufactured products, India must manufacture her
30 own goods. I repeat, the future lies with industrialization. And yet the experience of the West shows that industrialization can produce misery in crowded slum

areas and be the fostering place for most of our problems. This is growingly true of India where the housing of the workers is the worst of the world. The crowded *chawls* where as many as ten or a dozen live in one room, sometimes in two shifts, are the bye-product of a ruthless, selfish industrialization. The orgy of strikes and riots is a natural corollary. In the West where industrialization has taken place, decentralization is seen as a necessity—take the factories into the country-side and set up smaller units under better living conditions. Mahatma Gandhi 10 with his spinning wheel is a pull in that direction. It is a protest and a pull. The Mahatma sitting athwart the road to rapid and ruthless industrialization says to the oncoming greedy-for-profit hordes: “Thou shalt not create millionaires and misery, palaces and hovels, mass 15 production and mass poverty. Decentralize and put much of this back into the home.” There is something magnificent in this protest. The Mahatma and his spinning wheel will be the conscience of the industrial movement. His sad eyes will look upon the large profits, and 20 money-mad men will know that these profits are made out of the blood of the poor. Those eyes tell them that. India is bound to be industrialized. The future lies with Jawaharlal Nehru in this matter and not with the Mahatma, for Nehru believes in the utilization of power 25 machinery for social and economic ends. But the Mahatma and his *charka* are going to be the conscience and corrective of that movement. It may be that he will help India to avoid the mistakes and consequent misery which came from the rapid industrialization of the 30 West. But beyond that, the movement of the Mahatma will reinstate and create cottage industries which can

exist side by side with industrialization. Cottage industries stand in their own right, and Mahatma Gandhi was right in standing for them.

5 Mahatma Gandhi with his over-emphasis on the *charka* as the answer to the economic needs of India was wrong and yet he was profoundly right, for at the heart of his contention is a right—the centrality and independence of the worker. He was a mystic and yet he was a practical mystic, and very often most practical
10 when he seemed impractical. The little devotee of the spinning wheel may help to turn the wheels of industry not toward mere profits, but toward the profit of all.

5

When I asked Devadas Gandhi what he considered his father's outstanding characteristic and contribution, he
15 replied: "His candour and his courtesy." This is a combination rarely seen—the candid are not courteous and the courteous are not candid. But Mahatma Gandhi was both and he was both at one and the same time. He spoke exactly what he thought and yet did it so gently
20 and courteously that you loved it even when it was cutting across your own views. He was a most amazing blend of the candid and the courteous.

We note another combination: the serious and the playful. Seldom has a man been driven by more serious
25 purposes. They weighed upon him night and day, for he was seldom or never without a crowd around him. They dumped into his lap everything—their complaints, their hopes, their troubles, their longings, their struggles and their sins. The Indian often says to you when he
30 comes with a request: "You are my MaBap—my

Mother-Father." Gandhiji was the Mother-Father to a whole sub-continent. It was a serious business to be looked upon to solve the troubles of one-fifth of the human race. And yet amid it all he was cheerful and at times playful. Lord Curzon said of Bishop Lefroy: 5
"He had the zeal of a crusader, the spirit of a boy and the heart of a woman." Mahatma Gandhi had all three, especially the spirit of a boy. Each evening at Sabarmati he would take an evening walk toward the jail a mile away, with a troupe of children around him and some 10 of us older ones trooping behind. He played a game with the children of seeing who could touch the jail gate first. And yet those of us who knew how events were shaping knew that he would soon be in that jail, or a similar one, as prisoner. He made a joke of it! At eve- 15
ning prayers the little children would crawl all over him and hang about his neck while he was talking. It didn't seem to embarrass him the slightest, nor did it embarrass the rest of us, for he too seemed to be as simple as a child, and a child about his neck was as befitting as a 20
beautiful ornament around the neck of a beautiful woman. They coincided. And yet he was a very wise child, for he was talking very profound things.

When I wrote to him that I had been at Sabarmati after an absence of twenty-five years and raised the 25
question of his coming back to the Ashram in a national pageant, he wrote and reminded me that the thing I had missed most at the Ashram was a mirror (something I had forgotten!), and then went on and talked about the suggestion of the pageant and what he was 30
doing in Behar; namely, calling a nation to repentance. Laughing over the absence of a mirror in the midst of

that! But that mirror held a mirror to his spirit—he was serious and he was playful. But that playfulness was the expression of the rhythm of his spirit—he was so adjusted and harmonious that everything was a play-spell to him.
5 That is real mastery.

Another pair of opposites came to a combination and blend in the Mahatma; he was a combination of stubbornness and yieldingness. He was a man underneath whose gentle ways was an iron will. When once he had
10 made up his mind, then nothing could deflect him from the course mapped out. Again and again he would say on reaching a decision: "Please do not try to dissuade me. It is settled." He wanted to save his followers and himself from futile discussions. When he started fasts
15 there would be a flood of telegrams and letters asking him to desist and using every possible plea. But it was all a breaking of waves against a Gibraltar. He would never desist until he felt the purpose was accomplished. Jails could not bend or break him—he went straight as an
20 arrow to his goal—the most stubborn of men.

And yet he was disconcertingly yielding when he saw reason to yield. He took the breath out of his followers when he called off the Non-co-operation Movement when twenty-one policemen were killed by a mob at Chauri
25 Chaura, saying that his was "a Himalayan blunder." They felt he had let them and the movement down for they had forsaken all to follow him and go to jail. But again the Mahatma was right. He called off the movement for the time being to discipline his forces and get
30 them ready for a more purified advance that would send them forward. Had he not called off the movement temporarily it would have degenerated into physical viol-

"ANTITHESSES STRONGLY MARKED"

ence, and the moment that was done, that moment its appeal and power were gone. He knew when to yield and when to compromise. He was a very rare combination of stubbornness and yieldingness.

That leads me to give another combination in the 5 Mahatma: he was a combination of poise and power. This is a rare combination. Those who seek poise usually do it by reducing contacts with the world. They keep the world out to keep poise within. And then there are those who exert power to change outer environment and 10 they rarely have poise. The Mahatma had both poise and power. He could be very, very stern. It was disconcerting the way he would rebuke those who seemed to him to be in the wrong. He was no man-pleaser. He did not try to win people by being pleasant to them for 15 the sake of winning them. He could be as cutting as a surgeon's knife—and as healing. For he never cut for the sake of cutting, for the sake of getting the better of an argument. He cut only out of what he considered necessity. And yet he did it so gently that one did not 20 realize till afterwards how deeply he had cut. He spoke the truth, but always in love. And the love was a kind of general anæsthetic that made the cutting painless.

6

But none of the above contrasts meeting in Gandhiji explain his greatness without this pair of opposites: 25 he was the meeting place of a person and a Cause. The person had the significance of the Cause which he embodied. That Cause was the Cause of India's freedom. It came to embodiment in Mahatma Gandhi. As a person, taken just as a person, he was not 30

particularly significant. Of him it could be said as it was said of Paul, "his bodily presence is weak and his speech is contemptible." He had no commanding presence such as we associate with greatness. Close-cropped
5 hair, large ears; teeth gone in front, nothing but a short loin cloth, a pair of rough sandals, sometimes a shawl around his shoulders in colder weather, and a very plain face surmounted by large horn-rimmed spectacles. Gandhiji's bodily presence was weak and his speech was
10 contemptible—he was no orator, never lifted his voice above the conversational when talking to a multitude and there was no attempt at producing an effect. Then why did the multitude hang on every word as upon an oracle?

It was because they knew that when he spoke the Cause
15 of India's freedom spoke. That Cause looked out of his eyes, stretched forth its hands as he stretched forth his hands and suffered as he suffered. He had the significance of the Cause with which he was identified. People in the West—and East, often through the years, would say to
20 me: "Isn't Gandhi a spent force—hasn't he played out"? My invariable reply was, "How can he be played out? He represents a deathless Cause—the Cause of India's freedom. As long as he is identified with that Cause and is the embodiment of that Cause, he is death-
25 less." The reason we, as Americans, look on Lincoln as the greatest American is because we see in Lincoln the Cause of Democracy come to embodiment. Democracy looks out of his sad eyes, touches us with his rugged hands and speaks in his voice. Lincoln has the signifi-
30 cance of the Cause with which he was identified: the Cause of Democracy. The Word of Democracy became flesh in him. In Gandhi the word of freedom became

flesh. When he spoke Freedom spoke. Gandhi was India.

When Lord Halifax, then Lord Irwin, was Viceroy of India he asked me if I thought he ought to try to get Gandhi to go to the Round Table Conference about to be held in London to determine the next steps towards 5 India's Freedom. My reply was: "If you don't get Gandhi, you haven't got India, for Gandhi is India." "I agree," he replied, "but I can't go down to the jail and ask him what his terms are." "No," I replied, "you can't. But you can say the thing that will get Gandhi, 10 namely that you and your Government will stand for immediate Dominion Status at the coming Round Table Conference. That will get Gandhi." "That would be very difficult," he replied, "for that would precipitate a crisis in Britain, which might send this Labour Govern- 15 ment out of power and bring in the Conservatives and, though the Conservative Party is my Party, India will find it more difficult to deal with them than with the present Labour Government." I saw no hope of a settlement at the coming Round Table Conference this side 20 of an out-and-out offer of Dominion Status. I suggested to Lord Halifax that "a wise radicalism now will be true conservatism then," and that, "he who gives quickly gives ten times." Had that been acted on then, much suffering and misunderstanding would have been saved. 25 But Empire was still in the saddle and was unwilling to dismount and come down off its high horse.

But note when Lord Halifax said: "I can't go down to the jail and ask him what his terms are," he said a significant thing: Gandhi in jail was dictating terms! 30 Here was a ruler asking for terms, or hesitating to ask for terms, from his prisoner. It made you wonder who

was ruler and who was prisoner! For the prisoner dictated terms. The Mahatma once remarked: "I get the best bargains from behind prison bars." The viceroy sensed that Gandhi in jail was India in jail and that the
5 jailed was jailing the jailor. Here was a new power that was emerging—the power of an embodied Cause and a willingness to suffer for that Cause. Britain increasingly knew that in dealing with Gandhi they were not dealing with a person only, but with a Cause embodied in that
10 person. They had to handle him gingerly and with caution, for they knew that 400 million restless people looked out of his eyes and spoke as he spoke.

I have said that Gandhi was India, but that has to be corrected: Gandhi *is* India. It was no mere chance that
15 his ashes were scattered in the 114 rivers of India. For he belonged to all India—was bone of its bone, blood of its blood and is now ashes of its ashes. In Gandhi an ancient civilization, bound and clamped by cramping custom and mental and physical chains came to renaissance, a new birth, and was free. When men saluted
20 Gandhi they saluted the New India.

Gandhiji seemed very simple and yet he was very complex. He was a meeting place of East and West and yet represented the soul of the East; he was an urban
25 man who became the voice of the peasant masses; he was passive and militant and both at one and the same time; he was the ascetic and the servant—aloof from and yet with the multitudes and with them as their servant; he was the mystical and the practical come to embodiment—
30 the man of prayer and the man of the spinning wheel and ten thousand other practical things connected with economic redemption; he combined the Hindu and the

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Christian in himself—a Hindu at the centre of his allegiance and yet deeply Christianized; he was the simple and the shrewd; the candid and the courteous; he combined the serious and the playful—a man who could shake empires and could tickle a child beneath its chin 5 and gain a laugh and a friend; he had poise, but not the poise of retreat and aloofness—he had power to change situations by a deep identification; he was strangely humble and strangely self-assertive; and last of all, and perhaps the most important of all, he was a person who 10 embodied a Cause—the Cause of India's freedom.

This combination of qualities made the Mahatma strong. Without those opposite virtues, held in a living blend, with his great drive he would have been a fanatic. But he was not a fanatic—no fanatic plays with children, 15 and children do not love a fanatic—he was a man in whom opposing virtues and interests were held in a living tension and reconciliation. In the South Sea Islands there is a flower, perhaps the largest flower in the world, but its smell taken by itself is putrid, and yet mingled with 20 the scent of the jungle, its smell is rather pleasant. Had these virtues and interests in Gandhi not been balanced by opposite virtues and interests they would have tended to stink in the nostrils of the world, but blended, they give a sense of fragrance. You cannot think of him with- 25 out a sense of inner pleasure and gratitude. The incense that arises from the memory of his life is "a sweet savour." But while the savour is sweet, the preponderating impression he leaves is not sweetness, but strength.

From MAHATMA GANDHI: AN INTERPRETATION (Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, London).

XII

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

EPILOGUE TO

“THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA”

THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA—what have I discovered? It was presumptuous of me to imagine that I could unveil her and find out what she is to-day and what she was in the long past. To-day she is four hundred million separate individual men and women, each differing from the other, each living in a private universe of thought and feeling. If this is so in the present, how much more difficult is it to grasp that multitudinous past of innumerable successions of human beings. Yet something has bound them together and binds them still. India is a geographical and economic entity, a cultural unity amidst diversity, a bundle of contradictions held together by strong but invisible threads. Overwhelmed again and again, her spirit was never conquered, and to-day when she appears to be the plaything of a proud conqueror,¹ she remains unsubdued and unconquered. About her there is the elusive quality of a legend of long ago; some enchantment seems to have held her mind. She is a myth and an idea, a dream and a vision, and yet very real and present and pervasive. There are terrifying glimpses of dark corridors which seem to lead back to primeval night, but also there is the fullness and warmth of the day about

¹ *Written in September, 1944.*

her. Shameful and repellant she is occasionally, perverse and obstinate, sometimes even a little hysteric, this lady with a past. But she is very lovable and none of her children can forget her wherever they go or whatever strange fate befalls them. For she is part of them in her greatness as well as her failings and they are mirrored in those deep eyes of hers that have seen so much of life's passion and joy and folly and looked down into wisdom's well. Each one of them is drawn to her, though perhaps each has a different reason for that attraction or can point to no reason at all, and each sees some different aspect of her many-sided personality. From age to age she has produced great men and women, carrying on the old tradition and yet ever adapting it to changing times. Rabindranath Tagore, in line with that great succession, was full of the temper and urges of the modern age and yet was rooted in India's past, and in his own self built up a synthesis of the old and the new. "I love India," he said, "not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that had issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great ones." So many will say, and yet others will explain their love for her in some different way.

The old enchantment seems to be breaking to-day and she is looking around and waking up to the present. But however she changes, as change she must, that old witchery will continue and hold the hearts of her people. Though her attire may change, she will continue as of old, and her store of wisdom will help her to hold on to what is true and beautiful and good in this harsh,

vindictive and grasping world.

The world of to-day has achieved much, but for all its declared love for humanity, it has based itself far more on hatred and violence than on the virtues that make
5 man human. War is the negation of truth and humanity. War may be unavoidable sometimes but its progeny are terrible to contemplate. Not mere killing, for men must die, but the deliberate and persistent propagation of hatred and falsehood, which gradually become the
10 normal habits of the people. It is dangerous and harmful to be guided in our life's course by hatreds and aversions, for they are wasteful of energy, and limit and twist the mind and prevent it from perceiving the truth. Unhappily there is hatred to-day in India and strong aver-
15 sions, for the past pursues us and the present does not differ from it. It is not easy to forget repeated affronts to the dignity of a proud race. Yet, fortunately, Indians do not nourish hatred for long; they recover easily a more benevolent mood.

20 India will find herself again when freedom opens out new horizons and the future will then fascinate her far more than the immediate past of frustration and humiliation. She will go forward with confidence, rooted in herself and yet eager to learn from others and co-operate
25 with them. To-day she swings between a blind adherence to her old customs and a slavish imitation of foreign ways. In neither of these can she find relief or life or growth. It is obvious that she has to come out of her shell and take full part in the life and activities of the
30 modern age. It should be equally obvious that there can be no real cultural or spiritual growth based on imitation. Such imitation can only be confined to a small

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number who cut themselves off from the masses and the springs of national life. True culture derives its inspiration from every corner of the world but it is home-grown and has to be based on the wide mass of the people. Art and literature remain lifeless if they are continually thinking of foreign models. The day of a narrow culture confined to a small fastidious group is past. We have to think in terms of the people generally and their culture must be a continuation and development of past trends, and must also represent their new urges and creative tendencies. 5 10

Emerson, over a hundred years ago, warned his countrymen in America not to imitate or depend too much culturally on Europe. A new people as they were, he wanted them not to look too much on their European past but to draw inspiration from the abounding life of their new country. "Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. The millions that around us are rushing into life cannot always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests. Events, actions arise, that must be sung, that will sing themselves...there are creative manners, there are creative actions and creative words... that is, indicative of no custom or authority, but springing spontaneous from the mind's own sense of good and fair." And again in his essay on Self-Reliance: "It is for want of self-culture that the superstition of Travelling, whose idols are Italy, England, Egypt, retains its fascination for all educated Americans. They who made England, Italy, or Greece venerable in the imagination did so by sticking fast where they were, like an axis of the earth. In manly hours we feel that duty is 15 20 25 30

our place. The soul is no traveller; the wise man stays at home, and when his necessities, his duties, on any occasion call him from his house, or into foreign fields, he is at home still, and shall make men sensible by the
5 expression of his countenance that he goes the missionary of wisdom and virtue, and visits cities and men like a sovereign and not like an interloper or a valet."

"I have no churlish objection," continues Emerson, "to the circumnavigation of the globe, for the purposes
10 of art, of study, and benevolence, so that man is first domesticated, or does not go abroad with the hope of finding something greater than he knows. He who travels to be amused, or to get somewhat which he does not carry, travels away from himself, and grows old
15 even in youth among old things. In Thebes, in Palmyra, his will and mind have become old and dilapidated as they. He carries ruins to ruins.

"But the rage for travelling is a symptom of a deeper unsoundness affecting the whole intellectual action . . .
20 We imitate . . . Our houses are built with foreign taste; our shelves are garnished with foreign ornaments; our opinions, our tastes, our faculties, lean on and follow the past and the distant. The Soul created the arts wherever they have flourished. It was in his own mind
25 that the artist sought his model. It was an application of his thought to the thing to be done and the conditions to be observed...Insist on yourself; never imitate. Your own gift you can present every moment with the cumulative force of a whole life's cultivation; but of the
30 adopted talent of another you have only an extemporaneous half possession."

We in India do not have to go abroad in search of the

Past and the Distant. We have them here in abundance. If we go to foreign countries, it is in search of the Present. That search is necessary, for isolation from it means backwardness and decay. The world of Emerson's time has changed and old barriers are breaking down; life becomes more international. We have to play our part in this coming internationalism and, for this purpose, to travel, meet others, learn from them and understand them. But a real internationalism is not something in the air without roots or anchorage. It has to grow out of national cultures, can only flourish to-day on a basis of freedom and equality and true internationalism. Nevertheless Emerson's warning holds to-day as it did in the past, and our search can only be fruitful in the conditions mentioned by him. Not to go anywhere as interlopers, but only if we are welcomed as equals and as comrades in a common quest. There are countries, notably in the British dominions, which try to humiliate our countrymen. They are not for us.

We are citizens of no mean country and we are proud of the land of our birth, of our people, our culture and traditions. That pride should not be for a romanticized past to which we want to cling on; nor should it encourage exclusiveness or a want of appreciation of other ways than ours. It must never allow us to forget our many weaknesses and failings or blunt our longing to be rid of them. We have a long way to go and much leeway to make up before we can take our proper station with others in the van of human civilization and progress. And we have to hurry, for the time at our disposal is limited and the pace of the world grows ever swifter. It was India's way in the past to welcome and absorb other

cultures. That is much more necessary to-day, for we march to the One World of tomorrow where national cultures will be intermingled with the international culture of the human race. We shall therefore seek wisdom
5 and knowledge and friendship and comradeship wherever we can find them, and co-operate with others in common tasks, but we are no suppliants for others' favours and patronage. Thus we shall remain true Indians and Asians, and become at the same time good internationalists and
10 world citizens.

My generation has been a troubled one in India and the world. We may carry on for a little while longer, but our day will be over and we shall give place to others, and they will live their lives and carry their burdens to
15 the next stage of the journey. How have we played our part in this brief interlude that draws to a close? I do not know. Others of a later age will judge. By what standards do we measure success or failure? That too I do not know. We can make no complaint that life has
20 treated us harshly, for ours has been a willing choice and perhaps life has not been so bad to us after all. For only those can sense life who stand often on the verge of it, only those whose lives are governed by the fear of death. In spite of all the mistakes that we might have made, we
25 have saved ourselves from triviality and an inner shame and cowardice. That, for our individual selves, has been some achievement. 'Man's dearest possession is life, and since it is given to him to live but once, he must so live as not to be seared with the shame of a cowardly and
30 trivial past, so live as not to be tortured for years without purpose, so live that dying he can say : " All my life and my strength were given to the first cause in the world—

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the liberation of mankind.”’—*Lenin*.

*From THE EPILOGUE TO “THE
DISCOVERY OF INDIA” (Dec.
1945)—The Signet Press, Calcutta.*

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NOTES

RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

BERTRAND RUSSELL, born 1872, is a distinguished English philosopher and mathematician. He was educated privately and at Trinity College, Cambridge. A pacifist by conviction, he suffered imprisonment for championing the cause of peace at the outbreak of the First World War. He is the author of many works bearing on mathematics, science, and philosophy. As a writer, he is held in just esteem for his power of reasoned thought and lucid exposition.

P. 2. *Line 21. The Liberal creed*, system of principles professed by the Liberal Party; such as, religious toleration and faith in democracy.

P. 3. *Line 16. King Lear when he was mad.* Reference to Shakespeare's *King Lear*, II, (ii). Lear resents the conduct of the Duke of Cornwall in putting his messenger, the Duke of Kent in disguise, in the stocks.

22. *Nazis*, German Fascist Party, at the head of which was Hitler.

26. *Collaborators*, those that had worked with the Nazi army in occupation of the country in the Second World War.

27. *totalitarian countries*, countries with a government which permits no rival loyalties or parties.

P. 4. *Line 5. The Stoics*, Greek school of philosophy, founded by Zeno (c. 300 B.C.). The name is derived from the Stoa, or porch, at Athens in which Zeno taught. The Stoics believed in calm and enlightened acceptance of the law of the universe.

14. 1933, the year of the rise to power of the Nazi party in Germany.
1945, the year of the defeat of Hitler and the party.

15. *Russian Zone*, that part of Germany which is administered, since the conclusion of the Second World War, by the Soviet authorities.

P. 5. *Line 5. concentration camp*, one of the prison camps used by the Nazis for the detention, and later the mass extermination, of their political enemies.

FORMATIVE IDEALS

27. “*progressive*” education, educational system, like the Dalton Plan, in which emphasis is laid on “greater creative expression of individual talent”.

P. 6. *Line 3. social ethic*, systematic study of moral action as bearing on society.

THE RIGHT OF DEVELOPMENT

DR. C. E. M. JOAD, born 1891, is an English philosopher and educationist. In 1914, he entered the British Civil Service. On his retirement in 1930, he became Head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology at Birkbeck College, London. His writings are characterized by close reasoning and a marvellous precision. They stimulate thought and have a bracing effect.

The theme of the present extract, taken from *About Education* (1945), is “Knowledge, goodness and beauty as the basis of human culture.”

P. 8. *Line 9. The good gardener.* Cf. the following from P. 43 of *About Education*: “A good gardener helps each plant to put forth that essential quality of its own that differentiates it from all other plants and makes it a thing of use and beauty in the world. The good educator performs a similar office for the human being.”

P. 10. *Line 6. Aristotle*, Greek philosopher, 384-322 B.C., acclaimed one of the world’s supreme intellects.

P. 12. *Line 29. ‘Education for living’.* This is not the same as education for earning a living, admittedly one of the purposes of education. Nor is it education for citizenship. What Dr. Joad means by it is the development, in each of us, of an awareness of the beauty and nobility of life.

KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING

JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL NEWMAN, 1801-90, was a great English churchman and educationist. By his sermons and writings, he brought about a great religious revival among his countrymen. He is the author of the immortal lyric, ‘Lead, Kindly Light.’ In literature, he takes rank

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as one of the masters of English prose. His style is simple, lucid, clear, and unusually convincing.

For further reading: *Idea of a University*; *Historical Sketches*; *Apologia pro Vita sua*.

P. 14. Line 1. *prima facie*, Lat. 'on first appearance'; on the face of it.

P. 15. Line 3. *Seven years of plenty*. Reference to *Genesis*, xii. Warned by Joseph's reading of a dream dreamt by the Pharaoh, the Egyptians 'gathered in by handfuls' during seven years of plentiful harvests, thus anticipating the seven years of famine that followed.

P. 17. Line 7. *Liberal Education*, the education that makes a man more truly human, i.e., gentle, enlightened, refined. Newman, in Discourse V of *Idea of a University*, quotes from Aristotle: "Of possessions, those rather are useful, which bear fruit; those *liberal*, which tend to enjoyment... By fruitful, I mean, which yield revenue; by enjoyable, where *nothing accrues of consequence beyond the using*."

19. *here or in England*. This Discourse was first delivered in Dublin, where Newman had been invited to found a Catholic University.

P. 19. Line 25. *fruit of the Tree of Knowledge*. Here, the mental outlook that results from a study of the arguments and speculations of unbelievers. Of the immediate effect, on Adam and Eve, of their lunch on the fruit of the forbidden tree, Milton says:

—that now,
As with new wine intoxicated both,
They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them breeding wings
Wherewith to scorn the Earth.

—*Paradise Lost*, Book IX.

31. *the judgement-stricken king*. Pentheus, legendary king of Thebes. He imprisoned the wine-god Dionysus, and the god took revenge by striking him with madness. People thought him mad because he prohibited drunken orgies in his kingdom. The 'Bacchae,' or a troop of revellers at the festival of Dionysus, headed by his own mother, tore him to pieces. This is the theme of *The Bacchae*, a Tragedy by Euripides.

FORMATIVE IDEALS

P. 21. Line 19. St. Thomas. St. Thomas Aquinas, 1225-74, Italian philosopher and Doctor of the Church ; a distinguished scholar and theologian.

Newton, Sir Isaac Newton, 1642-1727, English mathematician and philosopher ; universally known for his formulation of the laws of gravitation and the laws of motion.

Goethe, German poet, dramatist, novelist, and philosopher, 1749-1832 ; one of the greatest personalities of literature.

P. 23. Line 6. tapestry, Fabric of linen or similar material, upon which designs are wrought by hand-weaving. These designs sometimes illustrate, in a connected series, a story or legend ; seen on the wrong side, the connection would be lost.

11. *Pompey's Pillar*, in Alexandria, Egypt ; a stone column erected, in 302 A.D., by the Roman conquerors of the city, in honour of their Emperor, Diocletian.

12. *Andes*, mountain system in South America, running parallel to the Pacific coast.

P. 25. Line 20. The 'square' of the Peripatetic. The "balanced mind" as the ideal of the Aristotelian school of philosophy. The Peripatetics, meaning 'walkers,' were the pupils and followers of Aristotle, so called because Aristotle taught while walking about in the shady avenues of the Lyceum at Athens. They used the Greek equivalent of the English word 'square' as a symbol of the perfectly developed mind.

21. "*nil admirari*" of the Stoic. The absolute unperturbability, which is the ideal of the Stoic school of philosophers, or the followers of Zeno. "*Nil admirari*" is Latin for "to be astonished at nothing." The Stoics held that man should be unmoved by and superior to all external circumstances.

beau ideal, French, "ideal beauty" ; the highest standard of excellence one can conceive.

P. 26. Line 13. the music of the spheres, "the harmonious disposition of all things in this universe." It is an old idea, ascribed to the Greek philosopher, Pythagoras, that the planets make sounds in their motions through space, and that these sounds harmonize.

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THE ROOTS OF HONOUR

JOHN RUSKIN, 1819-1900, English author and critic. In his many works, he related art to a morally sound society. One aspect of moral soundness in society is a just economic order. Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, 1862, bears on this aspect of the question. We have here an extract from "Essay I" of this remarkable book. Ruskin wrote in the 19th century, but what he has written has a very special significance for us to-day.

P. 27. Line 4. *soi-disant*, French, "self-styled"; pretended.

P. 28. Line 32. *ossifiant*, causing to assume a bone-like hardness.

P. 29. Line 3. *death's-head*, a human skull; *humeri*, the two bones of the upper arm in man.

5. *corpuscular*, bony. 'Corpus' in anatomy means "part of an organ of the body having a solid and more or less homogeneous structure."

P. 34. Line 18. *Hero of the 'Excursion'*. The hero of Wordsworth's *The Excursion*, though a professional pedlar, is essentially a gentle, philosophical recluse.

19. *Autolycus*, famous rogue and pedlar in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*.

P. 38. Line 21. *false in premises, absurd in deduction*, illogical. 'Premise' is a basic general statement, and 'deduction' is the application of it to a particular instance.

THE QUEST FOR BEAUTY

WALTER HORATIO PATER, 1839-94, English essayist and critic, noted for the purity and precision of his style. His first work, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, 1873, established his reputation as an art critic. The Extract here is taken from the Preface and Conclusion of this famous work, and deals with the fundamentals of æsthetic appreciation.

P. 39. Line 19. "To see the object, &c." Quotation from Matthew Arnold's *On Translating Homer*, 1861.

FORMATIVE IDEALS

P. 40. *Line 18. metaphysical questions, oversubtle and too abstract considerations.*

28. *La Gioconda*, Italian, "The Smiling Woman"; name of a famous portrait of an Italian lady by Leonardo da Vinci, now in the Louvre, Paris; also known as 'Mona Lisa'.

Cf.—the following from Pater's *Essay on Leonardo da Vinci*: "We all know the face and the hands of the figure, set in its marble chair, in that circle of fantastic rocks, as in some faint light under the sea; its geminal principle, the unfathomable smile, with a touch of something sinister in it; we might fancy that this was his ideal lady, embodied and beheld at last."

Carrara, town in Italy famous for the white marble quarried there; here conceived as a beautiful landscape.

Pico of Mirandola, 1463-94, Italian nobleman and humanist; renowned for his vast learning and brilliance, his piety and good manners, and his handsome figure.

P. 41. *Line 12. Sainte-Beauve*, 1804-69, French literary historian and critic: author of *Causeries du lundi*.

14. *humanist*. One interested in the study of man and the works of the human mind and imagination, in preference to specialised science and theology.

26. *William Blake*, 1757-1827, English artist and poet.

30. *Goethe or Byron*. For Goethe, see Note to P. 21, line 19, *supra*.

Byron, Lord Byron, 1788-1824, famous English poet; where his egotism is not governed by a noble restraint, his work is wanting in artistic finish.

P. 42. *Line 21. Novalis*, pseudonym of Friedrich von Hardenberg 1772-1824, German lyric poet and novelist of the romantic school.

22. *inertia*, "sluggishness or torpor of mind".

P. 43. *Line 11. roughness of the eye*. What Pandit Nehru calls a "coarsening in the spirit of man;" want of refinement and sensibility.

29. *facile orthodoxy of Comte or Hegel*, easy acceptance of established views. *Comte*, Auguste Comte, 1798-1857, French philosopher, founder of the positivist school. *Hegel*, 1770-1831, great German philosopher, regarded the greatest of the 19th century.

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P. 44. *Line 8. Rousseau, Jean Jacques Rousseau, 1712-78, French philosopher and exponent of democracy and romanticism. His Confessions, largely autobiographical, had for its aim "to show a man in all the truth of nature."*

10. *an undefinable taint of death*, a painful awareness of the shadow of death ever hovering about him.

14. *his previous life*. Rousseau's early life was not marked by idealism or restraint ; it held no promise of the fundamental contribution he was later to make to our idea of democracy.

17. *Voltaire, 1694-1778, French philosopher and author; a vigorous satirist*, he brought into discredit the old order in France, and thus prepared the way, like Rousseau, for the French Revolution.

condamnes, French, "the doomed"; condemned persons.

18. *Victor Hugo, 1802-85, French poet, dramatist, and novelist; author of Les Miserables.*

MORAL VALUES IN LITERATURE

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, born 1888, great philosopher and educationist, now Vice-President of the Republic of India, is a master of profound thought and brilliant exposition. He goes always to the fundamentals of a subject and makes the soul of it sparkle in his words. His view of literature is that it is the joyous outflow of the exalted human spirit. This is about the most satisfactory explanation that can be offered to account for the enduring appeal that literature has for us. He does not deny that literature is 'criticism of life' or that it is the "expression of personality." But he shows clearly that neither the one quality nor the other will raise a piece of writing to the level of literature unless, along with them, there is also evidence of spiritual insight and experience.

P. 46. *Line 8. enchantment of invisible mystery*, the overpowering beauty of the spiritual values that sustain and ennoble life.

12. *Bernard Shaw, 1856-1950, well-known dramatist, critic, and social reformer.*

13. *H. G. Wells, 1866-1946, English novelist, sociologist and historian.*

P. 47. *Line 6. Columbus, great Italian navigator; 'discovered' America in 1492.*

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7. *Vasco-da-Gama*, 1460-1524, discoverer of the route around Africa to India; made this voyage in 1497-99.

P. 48. *Line 7.* *brahmanandasahodara*, "kinship with spiritual bliss."

26. *Empedocles*, d. 430? B. C., Greek philosopher; wrote in verse; provided an elementary glimpse of the modern theory of the 'survival of the fittest' and connected it with the notions of love and hatred.

Lucretius, 96-55 B. C., great Roman poet and philosopher; author of *De Rerum Natura*, a poem on the materialistic basis of life.

29. *Marxist society*, Society as visualized by Karl Marx, 1818-83, German communist and the author of *Capital* (1867); the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as paving the way for "a classless society."

P. 50. *Line 27.* *Donne*, John Donne, 1572-1631, English religious and philosophical poet, and the foremost preacher of his day.

P. 53. *Line 16.* *Claudius and Gertrude*, the uncle and mother, respectively, of Hamlet, in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. *Ophelia*, in the same play, daughter of Polonius.

27. "*We will have no more marriages.*" Hamlet to Ophelia, III, i, 147. The dialogue which follows is from the Play Scene,—III, ii, 133-35.

P. 54. *Line 4.* '*cursed spite,*' Hamlet to Horatio and the guard:

The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right!

—I, v, 189-90.

5. "*To be or not to be?*" the opening words of a famous soliloquy of Hamlet,—III, i, 56.

7. *ends with a commentary on life*: Cf.—the following from Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, V, v, 24-28:—

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more; it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.

10. *jealous villain*, Iago, in Shakespeare's *Othello*.

P. 56. *Line 1.* *Aeschylus*, 525-456 B. C., Athenian tragic poet, one of

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the world's greatest dramatists.

20. *Alexanders, Napoleons, &c.*, great conquerors. *Alexander*, 356-323 B.C., great Macedonian conqueror and imperial genius. *Napoleon*, Napoleon Bonaparte, 1769-1821, emperor of the French and great European conqueror. *Frederick*, Frederick the Great, King of Prussia (1740-86), the man who made Prussia one of the great powers of Europe. *Catherine*, Catherine the Great, 1729-96, Russian Empress.

23. *Italy's "Civilizing mission" in Abyssinia*. In October 1935, Italy attacked Abyssinia and conquered it in May 1936.

25. *Hitler*, 1889-1945, German dictator and head of the Nazi Party, but the rest of the world somehow defeated them in what is called the Second World War. *Mussolini*, 1883-1945, the dictator of Italy and head of the Fascist Party.

26. *Sargon*, Sargon II, 722-705 B.C., King of Assyria, who conquered the neighbouring countries and was at last murdered in his palace.

P. 57. *Line 11. Burke*, Edmund Burke, 1729-97, England's greatest orator; a man who was as good as he was wise.

P. 58. *Line 26. Vyasa and Valmiki*, the authors, respectively, of *The Mahabharata* and *The Ramayana*.

27. *Homer and Virgil*, the two great epic poets, respectively, of ancient Greece and Rome.

Dante, 1265-1321, great Italian epic poet, author of *The Divine Comedy*.

P. 59. *Line 2. Socrates*, 469-399 B.C., great Athenian philosopher; pursued truth and virtue, and made men think. The Government of his day charged him with corrupting the minds of the Athenian youth, brought him to his trial and unjustly condemned him to die by drinking the poison hemlock. He embraced death most cheerfully and courageously.

11. *daimon*,—the inner voice that tells us, at a crisis, what is morally right and what is wrong.

P. 60. *Line 8. Arnold Bennett*, 1867-1931, English novelist.

P. 61. *Line 5. Johnson*,—Dr. Samuel Johnson, 1709-84, English writer; the greatest critic of his age.

18. *Nietzsche*, 1844-1900, German philosopher.

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HISTORY AND THE READER

GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, born 1876, is a distinguished English historian and educationist. He is the author of many historical works, in which he has combined most happily the fruits of research and a power of artistic presentation. As an essayist he has kept up the fine tradition established by Lamb, Hazlitt and Stevenson.

P. 64. *Line 14. hedonistic escapism*,—escaping from present responsibilities out of a love of ease and pleasure.

P. 65. *Line 12. Carlyle*,—Thomas Carlyle, 1795-1881, British man of letters. In his *French Revolution*, he has provided a marvellously vivid and dramatic picture of the movement. His *Past and Present* contrasts the materialism of his own age with the spiritual illumination which guided the lives of men in the 12th century. His essay on *Boswell's Johnson* is a brilliant exposition of the historical value of the great biography.

18. *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, published 1791, acclaimed one of the world's greatest biographies.

20. *Rough Samuel*,—Samuel Johnson. the subject of Boswell's biography. had a warm heart and an alert mind, but he was not famous for gentleness of manners or a handsome personal appearance.

sleek wheedling James,—James Boswell, the biographer; he was well-groomed and had an ingratiating manner.

22. *The Mitre Tavern*, famous coffee house, or hotel, in which Johnson and his friends met and had a good time; figures prominently in Boswell's pages.

P. 66. *Line 6. Prospero's air-vision: Cf.*—Shakespeare's *The Tempest*; Prospero to Ferdinand—

“Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits and
Are melted into air, into thin air:
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff

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As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

—IV (i) 148-58.

14. *revocation of the edict of Destiny*,—a reversal, or cancellation, of the law which takes every living thing to its death with the passage of time.

17. *Naphtha*, a liquid inflammable oil found in Persia.

28. *French Revolution*, 1789-95, the revolution of world importance which saw the overthrow of monarchy in France and the establishment of a democratic republic.

P. 68. *Line 23.* 1938-39. The year of frantic preparation by the Western Powers to meet the threat held out by Hitler.

24. *Mr. Ford*, Henry Ford, 1863-1947, American motor-magnate. 'Bunk'—short for 'bunkum', American slang for "nonsense, humbug."

P. 69. *Line 3.* *Star-spangled banner*, "stars and stripes," national flag of the U. S. A.

the constitution, i.e., the Constitution of the United States, the document drawn up by the Federal Convention of 1787 and brought into effect two years later.

25. *Hundred Years' War*, 1337-1453, between England and France.

P. 70. *Line 32.* *parti-pris*, (French) ; "mind made up, side taken, bias."

P. 71. *Line 8.* 1789, year in which the French Revolution broke out. 1794, year of the fall and death of Robespierre and, with him, of the 'Reign of Terror.' 1815, year of the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in the battle of Waterloo and a temporary revival of French monarchy.

P. 72. *Line 4.* *in Clio's house are many mansions*, there are different aspects of history. *Clio*, in Greek religion, the Muse of—or Goddess presiding over—history.

22. *first chapter of Genesis*, this provides the story of the creation of this universe, and of Man as the master of it, with a woman as his companion, by God. The *Genesis* is the First Book of the Old Testament.

PROSPECTS OF WORLD ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

G. D. H. COLE, born 1889, is an eminent British economist. He is

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Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory at Oxford. His many works on the social questions of the present day have a wide appeal by reason of the clearness and justness of their presentation of fundamental problems. Among them, the best-known are *Guide through World Chaos* (1932), *The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today* (1933), and *The Intelligent Man's Guide to the Post-War World* (1947).

The Title under which the Extract given here appears in Professor Cole's last-named work is "Prospects of World Development"—Pages 969-73.

P. 76. *Line 19. vicious circle*, "a set of undesirable circumstances which act and react detrimentally upon each other, so that one condition or circumstance leads to another, which in turn intensifies and aggravates the former, and so on."—*The Universal Eng. Dict.*

P. 77. *Line 20. Autarchy*, economic self-sufficiency of a political unit.

P. 79. *Line 16. the policy of "full employment"*: Professor Cole on Pp. 129-131 of *The Intelligent Man's Guide to the Post-War World*, advocates State-control of key-industries and economic planning in such a way that a worker declared unfit for one kind of work by his peers will have a chance of taking up some other work though this might mean lower pay.

28. *social costs*, costs to the community for permitting uneconomic production of commodities which can be produced elsewhere at lesser cost and imported.

29. '*entrepreneur*,' one who promotes, organizes, manages, an undertaking.

P. 80. *Line 15. free trade*, International trade unrestricted by protective or preferential duties, bounties, or monopolies.

P. 81. *Line 1. tariff protection*, System of helping home industries by imposition of 'tariffs' or import duties on imported goods.

3. *the Achilles heel*, the one weak point left unprotected; from the legend of the infant Achilles being held by the heel when Thetis dipped him in Styx to render him invulnerable.

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MAN AND THE ATOM

SIR RICHARD GREGORY, 1864-1953, is a great British scientist and philosopher. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science from 1940-46. For many years he was Editor of *Nature*, the weekly journal of international science. In his last work, *Men and Gods*, 1949, he has provided a masterly exposition of the history of science and religion from the remotest times to the present day. The extract given here is taken from that book.

P. 82. *Line 21.* radiation, transmission of energy in the form of rays.

P. 84. *Line 24.* glycerin, a by-product in the manufacture of soap, fats when treated with alkalies forming soap and glycerin; widely used in the manufacture of certain perfumes, cosmetics, and inks for rubber-stamps, in medicine, and in the manufacture of explosives.

26. *nitro-glycerin*, a highly explosive, heavy, colourless, oily liquid; a compound—or *ester*—of glycerin and nitric acid.

29. *Nobel*, Alfred Nobel, 1833-96, Swedish chemist and inventor. He made the discovery that the highly explosive oil, nitro-glycerin, could be rendered less unstable by mixing, with three parts of it, one part of some absorbent such as wood pulp, cotton, or sawdust. Then it could be formed into cylindrical sticks which might be ignited at need, whenever an explosive was needed. This is 'dynamite'.

At his death, Nobel left a fund from the interest of which annual prizes were to be awarded for the best work in the fields of physics, science, chemistry, medicine, and literature, and in the cause of peace. This is the *Nobel Prize*.

gelignite, a high explosive, formed by mixing nitro-glycerin with gelatin.

P. 85. *Line 6.* *detonator*, device for producing the explosion in a high-explosive substance.

23. *Professor F. Soddy*, 1877..., English chemist, Professor of chemistry at Oxford from 1916, and Nobel Prize winner in 1921; especially noted for his research in radioactivity.

Lord Rutherford, 1871-1937, British physicist; Professor of Physics at

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Cambridge from 1919; contributed to the knowledge of the rays involved in the disintegration of atoms.

"ONLY THEN SHALL WE FIND COURAGE"

DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN, born 1879, great German physicist; of Jewish parentage; an immortal name in the development of knowledge in modern times. His aim has always been to provide a scientifically satisfactory explanation of the structure and working of the Universe in which we live. It is in this spirit that he offered the world his Theory of Relativity and his formula regarding the equivalence of mass and energy. More recently (Dec. 1949), he has enunciated "a new generalized theory of gravitation" which seeks to comprehend in one law all movements in this universe, from inside an atom to the utmost limits of space-time.

With the rise to power of the Nazis in Germany, in 1933, Dr. Einstein left that country for Brussels. All the great nations of the world invited him and offered him posts in their universities. He became Head of the School of Mathematics of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, U.S.A., and there he stays and works to-day, a respected elder and one of the world's greatest teachers.

"ONLY THEN SHALL WE FIND COURAGE" is the title under which Dr. Einstein has appealed for a change of heart in men who find themselves in a war-mad world. He says that it is not science that will save humanity, but kindness and love.

P. 91. *Line 1.* rockets, jet-propelled missiles used in modern warfare. Notable examples are the German V-1 and V-2 bombs which fell on England from June, 1944 to early 1945 and did considerable damage.

6. *it is certain that we have no lasting secret.* This prophecy has been fulfilled; for the Russians are also having atomic bombs.

19. *Mammoth Cave*, reputed largest among the known caves of the world, Kentucky, U.S.A.; about 10 miles in diameter, with passages to the total length of 150 miles. There are some rivers and lakes in it, and the names of them are—Dead Sea, Lake Lethe, Styx, and the Roaring, and the Echo Rivers!

27. *radar*, the radio detecting and ranging device which makes possible the location of enemy planes and ships and precision bombing of enemy targets.

28. V-2. see 'Rockets' *supra*.

31. *Minneapolis*, Largest city and seat of Minnesota, U.S.A. A well laid-out and beautiful American city, with parks and a University, and a pre-War population of nearly five millions.

32. *Nagasaki*, City in Kyushu Island, Japan, at one time a busy port with a fine harbour and a population of two millions. At noon on Aug. 9, 1945, a single U.S. B-29 aircraft dropped an atomic bomb on it. Over a third of the city was devastated, and 75,000 persons were among the killed and wounded. The second city to be so bombed, the first being Hiroshima, another Japanese city.

P. 93. *Line 1. The German victory in 1870.* The Franco-German War ended with the capitulation of the French forces at Metz to the Germans.

3. *We are still making bombs.* Here is a Washington report under Feb. 1, 1950: "Atomic experts predicted to-day that the United States will produce and test its first hydrogen bomb within the year.—A physicist said that the first crude H-bomb will be two to ten times as powerful as to-day's best plutonium bomb.—Officials familiar with nuclear developments elsewhere said President Truman's order that H-bomb's production be carried forward came in time to assure United States atomic supremacy for the present at least. But they emphasised Russia knows the scientific theory involved in the H-bomb and can be expected to go all out to catch up." (*United Press of America*). This is indeed a very hopeful picture for all concerned.

12. *Acheson-Lilienthal Report*, a document setting forth, more or less, the terms on which the United States would be willing to consider atomic control by an international body. *Dean Acheson* is a distinguished American diplomat, and is now (June, 1951) U. S. Secretary of State in Truman's Cabinet. *Dr. David E. Lilienthal*, served as Chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission.

14. *Mr. Baruch*, Special Economic Adviser to the Roosevelt and Truman administrations; studied the problem of control of atomic energy, and presented a Report on the subject to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission.

16. *Plutonium*, an unstable element that is radioactive; one of a group of 'fissionable' materials for the manufacture of atomic bombs.

18. *The United Nations*, or U.N.O., the international organization set

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up in June 1945 with the following objects: the maintenance of international peace and security; achievement of international co-operation in all fields; and the encouragement of respect for human rights.

P. 95. *Line 25. the raid on Hiroshima*, on the morning of Aug. 6, 1945, for the first time in human history, an American B-29 bomber released an atomic bomb on this city in Japan. The bomb exploded before it reached the ground, and the resulting heat, blast, and radioactive effect "reduced the city to rubble." Out of a population of 3 millions, about half the number were killed or disabled.

P. 96. *Line 7. Alamogordo*, County seat of Otero, New Mexico, U.S.A. On July, 16, 1945, the first atom bomb was tested at a site near this place, "A flash brighter than the sun illuminated the desert land as man ushered in the atomic age."

16. "*realism*," preoccupation with the actual and practical rather than what is idealistic and theoretical. "*psychological realities*"—the truth regarding the thoughts and feelings of mankind.

21. *protocol*, a document containing the results of negotiations preliminary to a treaty or agreement.

28. *Axis*, the coalition of States headed by Germany, Italy, and Japan, starting from a military alliance between Germany and Italy in October 1936, called the 'Rome-Berlin Axis'; precipitated the division of world States into two opposed camps and the Second World War.

chain reaction, a connected series, or sequence, of responses, one to another.

P. 97. *Line 19, U. N. Atomic Energy Commission*. An arm of the United Nations Organization—Cf. *supra*—to this day trying to hammer out a formula for international control of atomic energy; set up on January 24, 1946.

27. *Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists*, An Association of nine world-famous American scientists, with Dr. Albert Einstein as Chairman, formed with the purpose of telling the world that the atomic bomb is a terribly destructive weapon, and that there is no defence against it except in a resurgence of human kindness and love and a universal sense of law and order.

The present article is taken, by kind courtesy of Dr. Einstein, from a

pamphlet made available by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. An excerpt, in it, from *The Courier-Journal*, says of this Committee: "These are the men who conceived the bomb. Dr. Einstein is the man who wrote down the basic formula on which it was calculated. They know what a dreadful thing knowledge has set free, and inevitably will set free, among the other nations. They are afraid of it, and we will be fools if we fail to listen to their warning."

"ANTITHESSES STRONGLY MARKED"

DR. E. STANLEY JONES, American missionary, has realized in his life the doctrine that service to man is the truest worship. To plant in the human heart the consoling vision of a Benevolent Providence, and to do this for all men without distinction of nationality and creed, is the missionary ideal. Dr. Jones has stuck to this ideal in all circumstances. In our own country, he has helped to revive the old institutions of service to the people in rural 'ashrams.' That he should have found in Mahatma Gandhi a kindred spirit is entirely in the fitness of things; they were drawn towards each other by the power of love. In MAHATMA GANDHI: AN INTERPRETATION (1946), the very soul of the Master is reflected, and one can almost see the well-known smile which inspired confidence in the millions of our countrymen.

P. 100. *Line. 1 Saul's armour on David.* I SAMUEL xvii, 38-40. Saul, King of Israel, fitted young David with coat of mail, helmet and sword as David went out to meet Goliath, the Philistine giant; but David laid them aside and took with him his own well-tried staff and five smooth pebbles from the brook and a sling to shoot them with; and with a single well-aimed pebble he brought down the giant.

2. *God's troubadour*, minstrel who goes about singing the praises of God.

12. *receiving posts*, wireless receiving posts; 14. *antennæ* in wireless telegraphy or telephony, the wires or aerials (for transmitting) and receiving the electric waves.

P. 101. *Line 8. Moses in Midian.* Moses, ancient prophet of the Israelites, led them from the land of bondage, Egypt, to the land of promise, Canaan or Palestine. At one stage of his life he had to flee to Midian,

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and there he lived forty years as a shepherd. At the end of that period he received a miraculous intimation from God that he was to be the leader and deliverer of his people from their state of bondage in Egypt. The voice of God spoke to him from a burning bush on the top of Mt. Horeb. See *Exodus*, iii, 1-10.

P. 102. *Line 20. Devadas Gandhi*, a great journalist and servant of India; Editor of *The Hindustan Times*, Delhi.

P. 103. *Line 22. Paul Saint Paul*, d. 67, one of the greatest of Christian missionaries, animated by a supreme love of God and man.

P. 104. *Line 10. passive*, From Lat. *passiv-(us)*, 'capable of suffering.'

15. *turning the other cheek*, "And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloak forbid not to take thy coat also"—*Jesus Christ, Luke*, vi. 29.

29. *tilter at every windmill*, Reference to a well-known adventure of Don Quixote.

P. 105. *Line 3. Happy Warrior*. Reference to Wordsworth's famous poem, "*Character of the Happy Warrior*." Cf. the following lines,—

—who, if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined
Great issues, good or bad for human kind,
Is happy as a Lover.

P. 109. *Line 5. Lord Curzon*, British Viceroy of India from 1899-1905.

P. 110. *Line 17. Gibraltar*, fortified rocky cape in S. Spain, a British possession; *fig.* "an impregnable stronghold."

24. *Chauri Chaura*, In February 1922, Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Reading, giving seven days' notice of mass Civil Disobedience if Government policy of repression was not changed. The Civil Disobedience started in all parts of the country. But there was an incident at Chauri Chaura, where twenty-one policemen were murdered by a mob. Gandhiji fasted five days to atone for the tragedy, admitted "Himalayan miscalculations," and called off civil disobedience.

P. 112. *Line 29. Lincoln.* Abraham Lincoln, 1809-65, 16th President of the United States; one of the world's greatest statesmen, a man with an admirable blending of gentleness and strength; abolished slavery in America and preserved the United States as a Union in the Civil War of 1861-65. In a celebrated address at Gettysburg (Nov. 1863), defined democracy as "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

P. 113. *Line 2. Lord Halifax, then Lord Irwin.* Lord Irwin was Viceroy of India from 1926-31; became 3rd Viscount Halifax on his father's death in 1934. The "Gandhi-Irwin Pact" was signed in March 1931; and then in August, Gandhiji attended the Second Round Table Conference in London.

27. *high horse.* "To ride the high horse" is an English idiom which means "to be overbearing and arrogant."

EPILOGUE TO "THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA"

THE SPIRIT OF INDIA is resurgent in our beloved leader, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. Through the long ages India has stood for certain moral values. On them is based whatever claim we have to be called civilised. Of these moral values, Indian and yet so human, Jawaharlal Nehru is the most glorious embodiment. For being what he could not help being, a true son of our great Mother, he had to suffer imprisonment many times. But the chaining of the body, in a way, sets the mind free. So within the prison walls of Ahmednagar Fort, in April-September, 1944, the mind of Jawaharlal Nehru ranged over the past and present, the strength and weakness, the glories and lapses, of Mother India. In all of them he could see the many facets of an illimitable personality, as sublime as graceful, that we call India. A record of this vision is contained in *The Discovery of India* (1945) of which we give here the Epilogue.

P. 117. *Line 15. Rabindranath Tagore,* 1861-1941, the Poet and Teacher of Modern India; one who has revived for us in our own time the glory of our literary past in all that he has written; a fervent and selfless patriot.

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P. 119. *Line 12. Emerson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1803-82, American poet, essayist and philosopher. The first volume of his *Essays* appeared in 1841, and the second in 1844.*

20. *sere, dry, withered.*

P. 120. *Line 15. Thebes, chief city of Bœotia, ancient Greece; rich in associations with Greek legend, religion and history. The modern Thiva, on the ancient site of Thebes, still has traces of the old fort walls named after Cadmus, the legendary founder of the city.*

Palmyra, ancient city of Syria; rose to power and magnificence under Zenobia, a Roman queen of Arab stock, in the 3rd cent. A.D. Later invaded and plundered by Tamerlane, we have it now only as some magnificent ruins in the midst of the Syrian desert.

P. 122. *Line 29, seared, dried, shrivelled: fig., "rendered callous or hard."*

P. 123. *Line 1. Lenin, Nikolai Lenin, 1870-1924, the founder of the USSR, the leader of Bolshevism: a political thinker and organizer of genius.*

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